

THE
HISTORY
OF
INDEPENDENCY,
WITH
The Rise, Growth, and Practices of that
powerfull and restlesse FACTION.

DOMINICUS AMBROSIUS.

*Nec nobis ignominiosum est pati quod passus est Christus, nec vobis
gloriosum est facere quod fecit Iudas.*

TACIT:

Scelerata, sceleribus, tuenda.

VIRGILIUS.

—sua cuique Deus fit dira libido.

IST. JOHN C. 2. V. 16.

*Quicquid est in mundo est concupiscentia oculorum, concupiscentia
carnis, aut superbia vita.*

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Pinggir di depan



Reader,



Entle or ungentle, I write to all, knowing that all have now got almost an equall share and interest in this Gallymaufry or Hotchpot which our Grandee Pseudo-politicians with their negative and demolishing Councells have made, both of Church and Common-wealth: and therefore I write in a mixed stile, in which (I dare say) there are some things fit to hold the judgments of the Gravest; some things fit to catch the fancies of the lightest, and some things of a middle nature, applying my self to all capacities (as far as truth will permit) because I fore-see the Catastrophe of this Tragedy is more likely to be consummated by multitude of hands, then wisdome of heads. I have been a curious observer, and a diligent inquirer, after, not only the actions, but the Councels of these times; and I here present the result of my endevours to thee: In a time of misapprehensions it is good to avoid mistakings, and therefore I advise thee not to apply what I say to the Parliament, or Army in generall, if any phrase that hath dropped from my pen in haste (for this is a work of haste) seem to look asquint upon them: no, it is the Grandees, the Funto-men, the Hocas-pocasses, the State-Mountebanks, with their Zanyes and Fack-puddings, Committee-men,

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Sequestrators, Treasurers, and Agitators, under them, that are here historified: were the *Parliament* (the major part whereof is in bondage to the minor part and their *Janisaries*) and the *Army* freed from these usurping and engaged *Grandees*, who betrayed the honour, and Privileges of Parliament and Army to their own lusts; both would stand right, and be serviceable to the settling of a *firme, lasting peace under the King*: upon our *first principles, Religion, Laws, and Liberties*; which are now so far laid by, that whosoever will not joyne with the *Grandees* in subverting them, is tearmed a *Malignant*, as heretofore he that would not *adhere to the Parliament* in supporting them was accounted, so that the *definition* of a *Malignant* is turned the wrong side outward. The body of the Parliament and Army in the midst of these distempers) is yet healthy, sound, serviceable; my endeavour is therefore to play the part of a friendly Physician, and preserve the body by purging peccant humours; were the Army under Commanders and Officers of better principles, who had not defiled their fingers with *publick monies*, their consciences by *complying* with, and *cheating all Interests* (*King, Parliament, People, City, and Scots*) for their owne private ends, I should think that they carried the *Sword of the Lord*, and of *Gideon*; but clean-contrary to the *Image presented to Nebuchadnezzar* in a dream, the head and upper parts of this aggregate body are part of clay, part of iron, the lower parts of better mettle: I cannot reform, I can but admonish; God must be both the *Aesculapius* and *Prometheus*, and amend all; and though we receive never so many *denialls*, never so many *repulses* from him, let us take heed how we vote (even in the private corners of our hearts.) no *Addresses*, no *Applications* to him. Let us

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us take heed of multiplying sins against God, lest he permit our *schismaticall Grandees* to multiply Armies and forces upon us, to war against Heaven as well as against our Religion, Laws, Liberties & Properties upon Earth, and keep us & our Estates under the perpetual bondage of the Sword, which hath been severall waies attempted in the Houses these two last weeks, both for the *raising and keeping of a new Army of 30000. or 40000. men in the seven Northern Associate Counties, upon established pay* (besides this Army in the South) and also for the *raising of men in each County of England*, and all to be engrossed into the hands of his Excellency, and such Commanders and Officers as he shall set over them ; and this work may chance be carried on by the Grandees of Derby-house and the Army, if not prevented ; for the Generall (notwithstanding this power was denied him in the House of Commons) hath sent Warrants into most Counties to raise Horse and Foot ; yea, to that basenesse of slavery hath our Generall and Army, with their under-Tyrants the Grandees brought us, that although themselves did heretofore set the *rascallity* of the Kingdome on worke, (especially the *schismaticall party*) to clamour upon the Parliament with *scandalous Petitions*, and make peremptory demands to the Houses, destructive to the *Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties of the Land*, and the very *foundation of Parliaments* : to which, they extorted what Answers they pleased : and got a generall Vote, *That it was the undoubted right of the Subject to petition, and afterwards to acquiesce in the wisdome and justice of the two Houses* : Yet when upon 16. of May, 1648. the whole County of *Surrey* (in effect) came in so civill a posture to deliver a Petition to the Houses, that they were armed for the most part but with sticks : in which Petition there

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is nothing contained which the Parliament is not bound to make good by their many Declarations and Remonstrances to the people, or by the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, or Nationall Covenant, or by the known Lawes of this Land. Yet were they, 1. Abused by the Souldiers of White-Hall as they passed by, where some of them were pulled in and beaten. 2. When those Gentlemen of quality that carried the Petition came to Westminster-Hall, they found a Guard of Souldiers at the dore uncivilly opposing their entrance to make their addresse to the House. 3. When they pressed into the Hall and got up to the Commons dore, they were there reviled by the Guard. 4. The multitude which stood in the new Palace, (because some of them did but whoop as others did, who were purposely set on work (as is conceived) to mix with them, and disorder them) were suddenly surrounded with a strong party of Horse from the

It is reported by some, that Sir H. Mildmay, Col. Purefoy, and the Speaker (doubting the House would give too good an Answer to their Petition) sent for these Horse & Foot.

Mewes, and some more Companies of Foot from White-Hall, who by the appointment of the Committee of Schismaticks at Derby-house were ready prepared for this designe, and catched them (as it were) in a Toyle, and with barbarous and schismatycall rage fell upon these naked, un-armed Petitioners, slew and wounded many without distinction, telling them, They were appointed to give an Answer to their Petition, and they should have no other; (as indeed they had not) though the Lieutenant Colonel that did all the mischief was called into the House of Commons, and had publick thanks given him at the Bar) took many of them Prisoners, and Plundred their Pockets, Cloaks, Hats, Swords, Horses, and some of them (even Gentlemen of as good quality as their Generall) were stripped of their Doublets. Those Gentlemen of quality who were in the Lobby before the Commons dore civilly expecting an Answer, were abused,

and

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and violently driven out by the Guard to take their fortune amongst the rabble ; what *Tyrants* ever in the world refused to hear the *Petitions* and grievances of their people before ? The most Tyrannical government of the world is that of *Russia*, and *John Vasilowich* was the greatest Tyrant of that Nation, yet shall this Tyrant rise up in judgment at the latter day against these monsters. Behold what entertainment your Petitions shall have hereafter, if publick peace be the end of their desires : yet many Petitions ready drawne are sent up and downe in most Counties by Committee-men, and Sequestrators, to enforce men to give thanks for the fourt ¹⁸ *Years* against the King : And many Petitions from Schismatics, destructive to Religion, Laws, Liberties and Property, have been obtraded upon the Houses, and received encouragement and thanks because they tend to subvert the fundamental government of Church and Common-wealth, and cast all into the Chaos of confusion, whereby the Grandees may have occasion to keep up this Army, and perpetuate their *Tyranny* and our Burdens. And from these *Tumults* of their own raising, the Grandees pretend a necessity to keep this Army about this Town, to watch advantages against it : *Cromwell* having often said, *This Town must be brought to more absolute obedience, or laid in the dust* ; in order to which the *Souldiers* are now disarming the Country, and then the City is next, who being once dis-armed, must prostitute their mony-bags to these fellows, or be plundred. Reader, having spoken my sence to thee, I leave thee to thy own sence ; submitting my self to as much charity as God hath endowed thee withall. *God that made all, preserve and amend all*, This shall be the daily prayer of him that had rather die for his Country, than share with these *Godly Thieves* in eating out the bowels of his Country, and enriching himself with publicke spoiles.

the violence done on the English or people in the world
and subjects of the Empire; most summe care in the world
is given to the safety and concordance of their people
by the King and Queen of England. In this case the
King and Queen have the greatest power in the world
to make laws for the safety and concord of their people
and to make laws for the safety and concord of their
people in the world. And this is the greatest power in the
world to make laws for the safety and concord of their
people in the world.

Faults escaped, correct thus:

Pag. 1. l. 11. r. 21. read their differences. p. 9. l. 23. r. had been. p. 19. l. 1. r. publick
Proclamation. ibid. l. 37. r. had to do so. p. 16. l. 13. r. self-defence. p. 17. marg.
l. 6. r. by whom. p. 18. l. 20. r. Court of Request. p. 29. l. 8. r. whereof you. p. 49. l. 21.
r. rock is. p. 51. l. 21. r. friend into. ib. l. 23. r. Presbyterians Commoners. p. 53. l. 22.
Peace place. p. 56. l. 32. r. Trained Band. p. 61. l. 22. r. promising to. ib. l. 23. r. defi-
sing the. p. 66. l. 11. r. instructions to stay. ib. l. 24. r. Counties.



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You have in *The mystery of the two Juntoes*, PRESBYTERIAN and INDEPENDENT, presented to your view these two Factions, (as it were in a Cock-pit pecking at one another) which rising originally from the two Houses and Synod have so much disturbed and dislocated in every joyn't both Church and Common-wealth. I must now set before you *Independency Triumphant*, rouzing it self upon its Legs, clapping its Wings, and Crowing in the midst of the Pit, with its enemy under its feet: though not yet well resolved what use it can or may make of its victory.

But before I go any farther, it is fit I tell you what *Independency* is:

It is *Genus generalissimum* of all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Schismes. A generall name and Title under which they are all united, as Sampson's Foxes were by the Tails; and though they have severall opinions and fancies (which make their *vertiginous heads* turne different waies) yet profit and preferment (being their tails) their last and ultimate end by which they are governed (like a Ship by his Rudder) and wherein they mutually correspond. The rest of your differences being but circumstantiall are easily playster'd over with the *untempered morter* of Hypocrisie by their Rabbies of the Assembly, and their Grandees of the two Houses and Army, in whom they have an *implicite faith*.

As Mahomet's Alchoran was a Gallemaufry of Jew and Christian; so are they a Composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk. With the Jew they arrogate to be the peculiar people of God,

The Preamble.

I.
What Inde-
pendency is.

Independency
is compounded
of Iudaisme.

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the Godly, the Saints, who onely have right unto the creatures, and should possesse the good things of this world, all others being Usurpers : A Tenant so destructive to all humane society and ci-vill government, that by virtue thereof they may and doe by fraud, or force, Tax, eate up with Free-quarter, cousen, and Plunder the whole Kingdome, and account it but robbing the *Aegyptians* : To this purpose they overthrow all the Judicatories, Laws, and Liberties of the Land, and set up Arbitrary Committees, and *weather-cock* Ordinances in their room, *made* and *unmade* by their own over-powering Faction in Parliament at pleasure, with the help and terror of their Janisaries, attending at their dores.

Christianisme.

With the Christians some of them (but not all) acknowledge the Scripture, but so far onely as they will serve their turns, to *Pharisee* themselves, and *Publican* all the world besides; men filled with spirituall pride, meer Enthusiastiques, of a speculative and high-flying Religion, too high for Earth, and too low for Heaven: whereas a true and fruitfull Religion like *Jacob's ladder*, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*; must have one end upon earth as well as the other in Heaven. He that acknowledgeth the duties of the first Table to God, and negle~~c~~teth the duties of the second Table to man, is an Hypocrite both against God and man.

Turcisme.

With the Turke they subject all things, even *Religion, Laws,* and *Liberties* (so much cried up by them heretofore) to the power of the sword, ever since by undermining practises and lies they have jugled the *States sword* into the *Independent scabbard*.

2.
The E. of Essex
and Sir Will:
Waller under-
mined to let in
the Independ-
ents.

The Earle of *Essex* Generall of all the Parliaments Forces (a man though popular and honest, yet stubbornly stout, fitter for Action then Counsell, and apter to get a Victory then improve it) must be laid by, and his Forces reduced. The like for Sir *William Waller* and his Forces, that Commanders of *Independent* Principles and interests with Souldiers suitable to them, might by degrees be brought into their room to reap the harvest of those crops which they had sown.

This was the ground-work of the *Independent* designe, to Monopolize the power of the Sword into their own hands.

This could not be better effected then by dashing the Earle of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller* one against another: for which purpose

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purpose that hot-headed Schismatique Sir *A. Haslerigge* was imployed with Sir *W. Waller* and some others (whose Ashes I will spare) with the E. of *Essex* to break them one upon another. This was at last effected by taking advantage of their severall misfortunes ; the one at *Lisstithyell* in *Cornwall*, the other at the *Devises* in *Wiltsh.* where *Haslerigge* (a man too ignorant to command, and too insolent to obey) not staying for the Foot who lay round about the *Devises* in a storming posture, charged up a steep hill with his Horse only against the Lord *Wilmot's* Party, one Division so far before another, that the second Division could not relieve the first, thereby freeing Sir *Ralph Hopton* from an assured overthrow, and bestowing an unexpected Victory on the L. *Wilmot* : he received a wound in his flight, the smart whereof is still so powerfully imprinted in his memory, that he abhors fighting ever since ; witness his praying and crying out of Gun-shot at the Battle of *Cheriton*, when he should have fought ; and his complaint openly made in the House of Commons of the Earle of *Stanford* for Bastonadoing him. Which rashnesse of his (if it deserve not a worse name) was so far from being discountenanced, that he received notlong after a gift of 6500^l. from the House, and is lately made Gouvernour of *Newcastle* and 3000^l. given him to repaire the Works there. I shall not need the spirit of prophecie to foresee that the tenth part of the said 3000^l. will not be bestowed upon those Works. Thus was he favoured by his party in the House who were thought to look upon this action as an acceptable service.

In farther progresse of this designe *Manchester* (a Lord, and therefore not to be confid in) was undermined and accused by his Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* of high Crimes, whom he again recriminated with a Charge of as high a nature ; and when all men were high in expectation of the event, it grew to be a drawn battle between them ; whereby all men concluded them both guilty : *Manchester* was discarded.

3.
The E. of Manchester undermined.

Out of the ashes of these three arose that *Phœnix* (forsooth) a new modell'd Army under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a Gentleman of an irrationall and brutish valour, fitter to follow another mans counsell then his owne, and obnoxious to *Cromwell* and the *Independent faction* (upon whose bottome he

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stands) for his preferment, it being no dishonour to him to become the property to a powerfull Faction.

4.

The Victories of the new Model how at-
tained. It pleased God to bestow many Victories upon this Army over the Kings Forces ; then strong in bulk, but weakened by Factions, want of Pay and other distractions (whereby many of their Commanders not confiding in one another, began to provide for their future safety and subsistence) but above all, they had generally lost the peoples affections. To these their Victories, the constant pay, and supplies, and all other helps and encouragements from a concurring State, which their working and restlesse Faction carefully accommodated them withall (far beyond what any other Army had formerly) did much conduce, in so much as they cleared the field, and took in all the enemies Garrisons with so much facility, that to many men they seemed rather *Cauponantes bellum quam belligantes*, to Conquer with silver then with steel.

5.

Artifices to make Cromwell and his new Modell popular.

Thus this Faction having got a Generall fit for their turne, and a Lieutenant Generall wholly theirs in Judgment and interest, were diligent to make him famous and popular, by casting upon him the honour of other mens Atchievements and valour. The News-books taught to speak no language but *Cromwell* and his Party ; and were mute in such actions as he and they could claim no share in : for which purpose the Presses were narrowly watched. When any great exploit was half atchieved, and the difficulties overcome, *Cromwell* was sent to finish it, and take the glory to himself, all other men must be eclipsed that *Cromwell* (the Knight of the Sun and *Don Quixote* of the *Independents*) and his Party may shine the brighter.

6.

The new Model new-modelled by degrees to put the hands of Schismatics.

And that *Cromwell's* Army might be suitable to himself, and their Designes carried on without interruption or observation of such as are not of their Principles, all the Sectaries of *England* are invited to be Reserves to this Army ; and all pretences of scandals and crimes laid hold of at their owne Councils of War to casheer and disband the *Presbyterian* party, that *Independents* might be let into their rooms, though such as (for the most part) never drew Sword before : so that this Army (which boasteth it self for the Deliverer, nay the Conquerour of two Kingdoms) is no more the same that fought at *Naseby*, then Sir *Francis Drake's* Ship that brought him home can be called the same Ship that car-

ried

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ried him forth about the earth, having been so often repaired, and thereby suffered so many subtractions and additions, that hardly any part of the old Vessel remained. It was therefore nominally and formally, not really and materially the same.

The said *Mystery of the two Junto's* farther tells you, that the *Independent Junto* bottomed all their hopes and interests upon keeping up this Army; whereby to give the Law to King, Kingdom, Parliament, and City, and to establish that Chimera called *Liberty of Conscience*. That this was *Cromwell's* ambition formerly, the Earle of *Manchester's* aforesaid Charge against *Cromwell* (though let fall without prosecution, lest so great a mystery should be discovered) makes it probable, and his later practises (upon which I now fall) makes it infallible.

The Houses long since (for ease of the people) in a full and free Parliament ordained the disbanding of this Army, onely 5000 Horse 1000 Dragoons, and some few Fire-locks to be continued in pay for safety of this Kingdome, and some of them to be sent for *Ireland*: for which purpose they borrowed 200000. of the City, (being the same summe which disbanded the *Scots*) and for the rest of their Arrears they were to have Debenters and security, without all exceptions: such tears of advantage as no other disbanded Souldiers have had the like; neither are these like to attain to again; so that they have brought the Souldiers into a *lasse*, as well as into a *labyrinth*: their continuing in Armes without, nay against *Lawfull authority*, being a manifest act of *Treason* and *Rebellion*; and so it is looked upon by the whole Kingdome; nor can the Parliaments subsequent Ordinances, (which all men know to be extorted by force, as hereafter shall appear) help them.

7.
The Army
Voted to be
Disbanded
through Crom-
well's craft.

To the passing of this Ordinance *Cromwell's* Protestations in the House with his hand upon his brest, *In the presence of Almighty God before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay downe their Armes at their dore, whensoever they should command them,* conduced much: This was malitiously done of *Cromwell* to set the Army at a greater distance with the *Presbyterian Party*, and bring them and the *Independents Party* neerer together; he knew the Army abominated nothing more then Disbanding and returning to their old Trades: and would hate the Authors thereof.

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8. And at the same time when he made these *protests* in the House,

Agitators raised by Cromwel. he had his *Agitators* (*Spirits* of his and his Son *Ireton's conjuring up* in the Army, though since *conjured donne* by them without re-quittance) to animate them against the major part of the House (under the notion of *Royalists*, a Malignant party, and enemies to the Army) to ingage them against Disbanding and going for *Ireland*, and to make a *Trayterous Comment* upon the said *Ordinance*, to demand an *Act of indemnity*, and relief upon the advice of

9.

The beginning of the project to purge the Houses. The Army put into mutiny against the Parliament, where by *Cromwell* monopolizeth the Army.

10.

Cromwell's Family in the Army. The Army put into mutiny against the Parliament, where by *Cromwell* monopolizeth the Army.

11.

Cromwell's Family in the Army.

12.

Cromwell and Ireton usurp Offices in the Army.

Cromwell having thus by mutinying the Army against the Parliament, made them his owne, and *monopolized* them, as he did formerly his *Brew-house at Ely* (which he might easily do, having before-hand filled most of the chief Offices in the Army with his owne kindred, allies, and friends: of whose numerous family, Lieut. Col. *Lilburne* gives you a list in one of his Books) he now flies to the Army, doubting (his practises discovered) he might be imprisoned: where he and *Ireton* assuming Offices to themselves, acted without Commission; having not only been ousted by the *self-denying Ordinance* (if it be of any power against the godly) but also their severall Commissions being then expired: and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having no authority to make generall Officers, as appears by his Commission, (if he make any account of it) and therefore *Sprigg*, alias *Nathaniel Fines*, in his Legend or Romance of this Army, called *Anglia rediviva*, sets down two Letters sent from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Speaker *William Lenthall*, one to desire *Cromwell's* continuance in the Army: another of thanks for so long forbearing him from the House: see *Ang. Red. p.10, 11, 29.* which needed not, had he been an Officer of the Army.

And now both of them bare-faced, and openly joyne with the Army at *Newmarket*, in trayterous Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and Manifesto's; and Petitions penn'd by *Cromwell* himself, were sent to some Counties to be subscribed against supposed Obstructors of Justice, and Invaders of the Peoples Liberties in Parliament, and the Army at *Newmarket* and *Tripleheath* prompted to cry Justice, Justice, against them; and high

and

and treasonable demands, destructive to the fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament were publickly insisted upon; many of which for quietnesse sake, and out of compassion to bleeding *Ireland* were granted: yet these restless spirits (hurried on to farther designes) made one impudent demand beget another ; and when by Letters and otherwise they had promised, that if their then present demands were granted, they would there stop and acquiesce, yet when they seemed to have done, they had not done, but deluded and evaded all hopes of peace by mis-apprehensions and mis-constructions of the Parliaments concessions ; making the mis-interpretation of one grant, the generation of another demand, so that almost ever since the Parliament hath nothing else to do but encounter this *Hydra*, and *roll this stone*.

Having thus debauched the Army, he plotted in his own Chamber the securing the Garrisons, Magazine, and Traine of Artillie Securing Oxford, and surprizing the Kings Person at *Holdenby*: which ^{ford, and plun-} by his instrument Coronet *Joyce*, with a commanded Party of ^{dring the King from Holdenby.} Horse he effected : though afterwards (having recourse to his usuall familiarity with Almighty God) he used his name to protest his ignorance and innocence in that businesse both to the King and Parliament ; adding an execration upon his Wife and Children to his Protestation ; yet *Joyce* is so free from punishment, that he is since preferred, and his Arrears paid by their meanes. And though both Houses required the Army to send his Royall Person to *Richmond*, to be there left in the hands of the Parliaments Commissioners, whereby both Kingdoms might freely make Addresses to Him ; (for they had formerly excluded and abused the Scots Commissioners, contrary to the Law of Nations, and Votes of both Houses ; and yet then granted free acceſſe to the most desperate persons of the Kings Party) yet they could obtaine no better answer from these rebellious Saints, then *That they desired no place might be proposed for His Majesties residence nearer London, then where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be.* This was according to their old threats of marching up to *London*, frequently used, when any thing went contrary to their desires. They knew what dangerous and troublesome guests we should find them here.

How much is this Army degenerated since *Cromwell* and his demure

Manifesto of the Army, 27. June 1647.

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demure white-livered Son-in-law Ireton poysoned their manners with new Principles? *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 247. tells us that about Woodstock private overtures were made by some from Court for receiving His Majesty, who was minded to cast himself upon the Army: but such was their faithfulness in that poynt, that conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of Parliament, (for His Majesty to wave that highest Court, and addresse Himself to any others) and therefore inconsistent with their trust and duty, being Servants of the State, they certified the Parliament thereof, and understanding it to be against their sense also, they absolutely refused to be tampered with. Oh, how faithfull then! how perfidious and Cromwellized are they now! let their frequent tampering with the King and His Party, to the amazement of the Kingdome, and the abusing of the King testify. Read Putney Projects written by a considerable Officer of the Army, and a friend to Cromwell, though not to his false practises.

14.

Their project
to keep the
Parliament in
wardship.

15.

Purging the
Houses again.

16.

Accusing the
11 Members.

Having thus gotten the King (the first and most visible legall authority of England) into their possession; their next designe is to get the Parliament (the second legall authority of England) into their power.

This could not be effected but by purging the two Houses of Presbyterian Members (especially the most active, and such as had laboured their Disbanding) that an Independent Parliament and Army might govern the Kingdome: In order to which designe they sent to the House of Commons in the name of Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Army, a generall and confused Charge of High Treasons and other mis-demeanors against eleven Members, for things done (for the most part in the House) and many of the principall, such as the House had long before examined and acquitted them of, and such as the whole Kingdome knows Cromwell and Ireton to be apparently guilty of: as, Trucking With the King, &c.

One chief Article insisted upon in the Charge was, That by their power in the House they caused the Ordinance for Disbanding this Army to passe. Here you see where the shooe wrings them. This Charge was not subscribed by any Informer that ingaged to make it good, or else to suffer punishment, and make the House and the Parties accused reparations: as by the Stat. 25 Edw. 3. c. 4.

27 Edw. 3.

27 Ed.3.c.18. 38 Ed.3.r.9. 17 R.2.c.6. 15 H.6.r.4. but especially by 31 H.6.c.1. concerning *Jack Cade* (which comes nearest this case) ought to be: And they professed in the 2, 3, 4. Article of their Charge, *That they were disengaged and disengaged from any farther engagement in the Parliaments service or Irelands preservation; and demanded the House should forthwith suspend the impeached Members from any longer sitting and acting.* Whereupon the House after full debate in a full and free Parliament, Resolved June 25. 1647. That by the Lawes of the Land no Judgement could be given for their suspension upon that generall Charge, before particulars produced and proofes made. Yet the Army (which had now learned onely to acquiesce in their owne prudence and justice) insolently threatned to march up to *Westminster* against the Parliament, in case the said 11. Members were not suspended: and courted the City of *London* to sit newters, and let them work their will with the Parliament.

The 11. Impeached Members therefore modestly withdrew to free the House from such danger as they might incur by protecting them, as in Justice and Honour they were bound to doe. After this, the Army sent in their particular Charge: and Libellously published it in Print by their own Authority. To which the 11 Members sent in, and published their Answer: Upon which there had been no Prosecution, because they pretend first to settle the Kingdome, but if they stay till these fellowes have either authority, will, or skill to settle the Kingdome, they shall not need to make ready for their Tryall till Doomes day. Here you have a whole Army for Accusers, and the chief Officers of the Army (being Members of the Houle) not onely accusers, but parties, witnesses, and Judges, and carrying the rules of Court, and Lawes by which they judge, in their Scaberds. And the Charge or Impeachment, such (as all men know) *mutatis mutandis* are more suitable to *Cromwells* and *Iretons* Actions, then the Accused parties. If the proceedings in the Kings name against the five Members mentioned in *The exact Collection*, pag. 38. were Voted a *Traitors designe against King and Parliament*; and the arresting any of them upon the Kings Warrant, an *Act of publick enmity against the Commonwealth*: How much more Treasonable were these proceedings; and the Armies March towards *London* to en-

17.
Threates to
march up to
London.

18.
London solicited
to sit Newters.

30
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force them ; and their arresting *Anthony Nicholls*, having the Speakers Passe, and leave of the House ; Colonell *Burch*, being upon service of the Parliament going for *Ireland* ; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, resting quiet in his owne House ?

19. Whilst these things were acting, *Cromwell* finding he could not have his will upon the Parliament, but that he must make the City of *London* (who had denied the newtrality) his Enemies, cast about how to cheat the Country people of their affections ; (for to have both City and Country his Enemies in the posture

20. his Army was then in , was dangerous) he therefore by many Printed books and papers, spread all *England* over by his *Agitators*, and by some journey-men Priests, (who's *Pulpits* are the best *Juglers Boxes* to deceive the simple) *Absolon*-like, wooeth them to make loud complaints of the pressures and grievances of the People : to neglect the King and the Parliament, and make Addresses to the Army as their only *Saviours*, the Arbitrators of Peace, restorers of our Laws, Liberties and Properties, setlers of Religion, preservers of all just interests : pretending to settle

21 Petitions to the Army, and for the Army. the King in his just Rights and Prerogatives ; to uphold the Priviledges of Parliament, establish Religion, to reforme, and bring to accompt all Committees, Sequestrators, and all others that had defiled their fingers with publique money, or goods ; To free the people from that all-devouring Excise and other Taxes ; To redresse undue elections of Members ; To relieve *Ireland* : Things impossible to be performed by an Army, and now totally forgotten, so that they have only accepted of their own private demands as Souldiers ; That the Parliament should own them for their Army ; Establish pay for them ; put the whole Militia of this Kingdome and *Ireland*, both by Sea and Land into their Hands ; and Vote against all opposite forces. But they are now become the only protectors of all corrupt Committee-men, Sequestrators, Accomptants to the State, and all other facinorous persons, who comply with them to keep up this Army, for their own security against publick Justice.

Having thus courted and cheated all the publike and just Interests of the Kingdome, they deceived the people so far as to make them *Issachar*-like patiently to bear the burden of free quarter, and to make addresses to the Army for themselves, by Petitions

ons

ons to which they gave plausible answers, That this, and This was the sense of the Army : as if the sense of the Army had been the supream Law of the Land, and to make addresses to the Parliament for the Army not to be disbanded (for which purpose their Agitators carried Petitions ready penn'd to be subscribed in most Counties.)

The people being thus lulled asleep, they now cast about how to make benefit of a joyn^t quarrell both against the Parliament and City, (since they could not separate them) or at least against the Presbyterian party in both ; They had withdrawn their quarters (in a seeming obedience to Parliaments commands) 30 miles from London, (of which they often brag in their Papers) and presumed the suspension of the 11 Members, had strook such an awfulness into the Houses, that most of the Presbyterian Members would either absent themselves (as too many indeed did) or turn renegadoes from their own principles to them : but found themselves notwithstanding opposed, and their desires retarded / beyond their expectatiou by the remainder of that Party. They must therefore finde out a quarrell to march against the City, and give the Houses another Purge stronger then the former.

The Army being principled, and put into a posture suitable to Cromwells desire, and the Country charmed into a dull sleep, now was his time to pick a quarrell with the City, that what he could not obtain by fair means, he might effect by foule ; To make them desert and divide from the Parliament ; And leave it to be modelled according to the discretion of the Souldiery. He could not think it agreeable to policy, that this City which had slaine his Compeere and fellow Prince *Wat Tyler* (the Idol of the Commons in Rich. 2. time) and routed his followers (four times as many in number as his Army) should be trusted with their own Militia : The City being now far greater, more populous and powerfull then in his dayes. In a full and free Parliament upon mature debate, both Hous^es by Ordinance dated 4 May 1647. had established the *Militia of the City of London* for a year, in the hands of such Citizens as by their Authority & approbation were nominated by the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Council ; and though the Army had recruited it self without Authority

22
A quarrell againt the City invented.

23
The Army demand the City Militia to be changed into other hands.

The History of Independency.

rity, and had got themselves invested with the whole power of all the Land forces of the Kingdome in pay of the Parliament ; so that there was nothing left that could be *formidable* to them but *their own crimes* ; and that it was expected they should goe roundly to work upon those publick remedies they had so often held forth to the people in their popular printed Papers : yet the Army (contrary to what they promised to the City in their Letter 10. June, and their Declaration, or Representation 14. June 1647. That they would not goe beyond their desires at that time expressed, and for other particulars would acquiesce in the justice and wisdome of the Parliament (behold their modesty !) by a

See the Letter
and Remon-
strance from
Sir Tho: Fair-
fax and the Ar-
my, pag 8, 9.
Letter and *Remonstranc*e from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Army, with unresistible boldnesse demand the *Militia* of the City of London to be returned into other hands, without acquainting the City or their Commissioners (then resident in the Army to keep a good correspondency with them) therewith. Upon which letter alone the House of Commons (being very thin, & many Members driven away by menaces) upon *July 22.* Voted the repealing the said Vote of *4 May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the *old Militia*, presently passed and transmitted to the Lords the same day about seven of the clock at night, and there presently passed without debate ; though moved by some to be put off untill the City (whose safety and priviledges it highly concerned) were heard what they could say to it.

Observe that neither by the said paper from the Army ; nor by any man in the two Houses, any thing was objected against any of the *new Militia*.

And indeed, formerly the Parliament never made choice of, enlarged or changed the City *Militia*, but they were still pleased first to communicate the same to the Common Councell. A respect justly shewed to that City which had been such good friends to them. But of late, since the Parliament have shifted their old Principles and Interests, they have learned to lay by their old friends. The pretence for this hasty passing the Ordinance, was to prevent the Armies so much threatned March to London, if the Houses refused to passe it ; and the Cities opposition, if not passed before their notice of it. But the reall designe was to strike a discontent and jealousie into the City, thereby to force them to some

some act of self-defence, which might give a colour to the Army to march up against them, and their friends in the Houses.

The unexpected news of this changing their *Militia*, caused the City (June 24, being Saturday) to meet in Common Council, where, (for some reasons already expressed) and because the repealing this Ordinance upon no other grounds than the Armies imperious desires, might justly be suspected, to shake all other Ordinances, for security of money, sale of Bishops lands, by making them repealable at the Armies pleasure; they resolved to petition the Houses upon munday morning following, being 26. July, which they did by the Sheriffs, and some Common Council men: But so it hapned that about one thousand Apprentices wholly unarmed came down two or three howers after with another Petition of their own to the Houses: Therein claiming, that to order the City *Militia* was the Cities Birth-right belonging to them by Charters, confirmed in Parliaments, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army. And desired the *Militia* might be put again into the same hands in which it was put with the Cities consent by Ordinance, May 4.

Upon reading these Petitions the Lords were pleased to revoke the Ordinance of July 23. and revive that of May the 4 by a new Ordinance of July 26. which they presently sent downe to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices (presuming they might have as great an Influence upon the House to obtain their due, as the Army in pay of the Parl: had to obtain more then their due) in a childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members passe out of the House, or come forth into the Lobby when they were to divide upon the question about it, (so ignorant were they of the customs of the House) which at last passed in the Affirmative about three of the clock afternoon: and then most of the Apprentices departed quietly into the City. After which, some disorderly persons (very few of them Apprentices) were drawn together and instigated by divers Sectaries and friends of the Army who mingled with them (amongst whom, one Highland was observed to be all that day very active; who afterwards (26. Sept.) delivered a Petition to the House against those Members that late, and was an Informer and Witnes examined about the said Tumult) gathered

24.

The City troubled at the change of their *Militia*.

I appeal to Colonel Harvey whether this did not fright him.

25.

The City petition the Houses for their *Militia* again.

26.

The Tumult of Apprentices, 26. July.

27.

The Tumult of Apprentices ceased, but artificially continued by Sectaries.

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thered about the Commons dore and grew very outragious, compelling the Speaker to return to the Chaire after he had adjourned the House : and there kept the Members in untill they had passed a Vote, *That the King shold come to London to Treat.*

This was cunningly and premeditately contrived, to encrease the scandal upon the City ; yet when the Common Councell of London heard of this disorder as they were then sitting : they presently sent down the Sheriffs to their rescue with such strength as they could get ready (their Militia being then unsettled by the contradicting Ordinances of the Parliament) who at last pacified the Tumult, and sent the Speaker safe home ; which was as much as they could do in this intervall of their Militia, being the Houses own Act.

The Lords adjourned untill the next Friday ; the Commons but untill the next day. Tuesday morning the Commons sat againe quietly, and after some debate adjourned untill Friday next, because the Lords had done so.

28. The next day being Wednesday, the monthly Fast, the Speaker and Members met in Westminster Church : where the Speaker complained of (in some passion) to Sir Ralph Ashton and other Members of a scandalous report, raised on him in the City, as if meant to flie to he intended to desert the House, and flie to the Army, saying, he the Army : yet scorned to do such a base, unjust, dishonourable act ; but would rather ran away to the die in his House and Chaire : which being spoken in a time and place of so much reverence and devotion, makes many think his secret retreat to the Army (the very next day) proceeded not so much from his own judgment, as from some strong threats from Cromwell and Ireton (who were the chief contrivers of this desperate plot to divide the City and Houses, and bring up the Army to enthrall them both) That if he did not comply with their desires, they would cause the Army to impeach him for couisening the State of many vast sums of mony.

And truly, I remember I have seen an intercepted Letter, sent about the time of his flight, from the Army to William Lenthall Speaker, without any name subscribed to it, only the two last lines were of John Rusborth's hand ; earnestly importuning him to retire to the Army, with his friends.

29. The City pro-
claim against
Tumults.

On Thursday morning early, the newly renewed Militia of London

London, made publike protestation throughout the City and Suburbs, and set up printed Tickets at Westminster: That if any persons should disturb either of the two Houses, or their Members, the Guards should apprehend them, and if resistance were made, kill them: yet notwithstanding, the Speaker and his party (carrying the causes of their fear in their own consciences) in the evening of that day secretly stole away to Windsor to the Head quarters.

Upon Friday morning at least 140. of the Members assembled in the House (they that fled being about 40.) whither the Sergeant coming without his mace, being asked where the Speaker was? answered, he knew not well; that he had not seen him that morning, and was told he went a little way out of Town last night; but said, he expected his return to the House th's morning: after that, being more strictly questioned about the Speaker, he withdrew himself, and would not be found, till the House (after four hours expectation; and sending some of their Members to the Speakers house, who brought word from his servants, that they conceived he was gone to the Army) had chosen a new Speaker, Mr. Henry Pelham, and a new Sergeant, who procured another mace. The like chosen (mutatis mutandis) was done by the Lords, to prevent discontinuance and fayler of the Parliament for want of Speakers to adjourne and continue it; and take away all scruples.

As for the Petition and Engagement of the City (so much aggravated by the Independent party) it was directed to the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common Councill from divers Citizens, Commanders and Souldiers, and was occasioned by some intelligence they had, that the Army would demand an alteration of the City Militia, in order to a designe they had against the City. It was only intended to the Common Hall, but never presented, as the Souldiers Petition was to their Generall, which being taken notice of by the Parliament as it was in agitation, was so much resented by the Souldiery as to put themselves into the posture they are now in (as Lieut. Col. Lilburne sayes in one of his Books) to act no longer by their Commissions, but by the principles of nature and self-defence. Nor did the said engagement contain any thing but resolutions of self-defence in relation to the City: so that we cannot see what the Army had to declare their sense upon it in their Letter, 23. July. and so put a prejudice upon it in the Houses. I have insisted

30.

The Houses
appeare, the
Speakers being
at the Army.

31.

New Speakers
chosen.

32.

Petition and
engagement
of the City.

insisted the more particularly upon this *Grand Imposture* as being the *avile* upon which they hammered most of their subsequent designes, *violencies* and *illegal accusations*.

33.
Votes passed
after new Spea-
kers chosen.

The new Speakers chosen; the two Houses proceeded to vote and act, as a Parliament. And first, the *House of Commons* voted in, the eleven impeached Members; next they revive and set up again the Committee of Safety by Ordinance of both Houses enabling them to joyn with the Committee of the restored *City Militia*: giving power by severall Ordinances to them, to List and Raise Forces, appoint Commanders and Officers, Issue forth Armes and Ammunition for defence of both Houses and the City against all that should invade them: Which votes and preparations for their safe defence (warranted by the same law of nature as the Armies papers affirm) were not passed, nor put in execution untill the Army (every day recruited contrary to the Houses Orders) were drawing towards *London*, and had with much scorn disobeyed the Votes and Letter of both Houses, prohibiting them to come within thirty miles of *London*.

34.
Members em-
gagement with
the Army.

The Army, to countenance their Rebellion, draw the two Speakers and fugitive Members to sit in consultation and passe Votes promiscuously with the Councell of War in the nature of a Parliament, and to signe an Engagement (dat. 4. August.) to live and die with Sir Tho: Fairfax and the Army under his command; affirming therein that generally throughout their sense agreeith with the Declaration of Sir Tho: Fairfax, and his Councell of War: shewing the grounds of their present advance towards the City of *London*. In which Declaration the Councell of the Army take upon them, To be *sapream Judges over the Parliament*: Telling you who of the two Houses they hold for persons in whom the publicke trust of the Kingdome remaineth, and by whose advice they mean to govern themselves in managing the weighty affairs of the Kingdome: They declare against the late choice of a new Speaker by some Gentlemen at *Westminster*; and that as things now stand there is no free nor legall Parliament sitting, being through the violence (29. July) suspended. That the Orders and Votes, &c. passed 26 July last, and all such as shall passe in this Assembly of some few Lords and Gentlemen at *Westminster* are void and null, and ought not to be submitted unto.

Behold

Behold here, not only a power without the Parliament Houses, judging of the very essence of a Parliament, and the validity of their resolutions, but usurping to themselves a Negative voice, which they deny to the King ; and yet a Schismaticall faction in the two Houses complying with them, and betraying and prostituting the very being, honour, and all the fundamentall Rights and Privileges of this and all future Parliaments, to an Army of Rebells who refuse to obey their Masters, and disband.

This engagement so over-leavened the Army, that their brutish Generall sent forth Warrants to raise the Trained Bands of some Counties, to March with him against the City and both Houses : Although Trained Bands are not under pay of the Parliament ; and therefore not under Command of the Generall, by any Order or Ordinance. But, what will not a fool in Authority doe, when he is possessed by Knaves ? Miserable man ! His foolery hath so long waited upon Cromwells and Iretons knavery, that it is not safe for him now to see his folly, and throw by his Cap with a Bell and his Bable. The Earl of Essex dyed so opportunely, that many suspected his death was artificiall.

Yet the City were so desirous of Peace, that they sent Commissioners sundry times to the Army to mediate an Accord ; who could obtaine no more equall tearmes of Agreement then that, They should yeild to desert both Houses and the impeached Members : Call in their Declaration newly Printed and Published : Relinquish their Militia : Deliver up all their Forces and Line of Communication to the Army; together with the Tower of London, and all the Magazines & Armes therein : Disband all their Forces : Turn all the Reformado's out of the Line : Withdraw all their Guards from the Houses : Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot within the Line, as the Army should appoint to Guard the Houses : Demolish their Workes : And suffer the whole Army to March in Triumph through the City, as Conquerors of it and the Parliament, and (as they often give out) of the whole Kingdome : Tearmes which they might have had from the great Turk, had he sate downe before them and broken ground. All which was suddenly and dishonourably yeilded to, and executed accordingly, by such an Army as was not able to fight

35.

The City send Commissioners to the Army, Fowkes, Gibs, and Eastwock, b; which they are betrayed.

with one half of the City, had they been united ; But they are the Devils seedes-men, and have sownen the Cockle of Heresie and Schisme, so abundantly in City and Country (especially amongst the more beggerly sort) that these men joyning Principles and Interests with the Army, weaken the hands of all opponents. They often brag that they made a civil March, free from Plunder : I Answer, they neither durst, nor could doe otherwise : their Soldiers being ill Armed, and so few, that they were not able to keep stands in the streets, and keep the Avenues while their fellowes dispersed to Plunder. Charles 8. with a far greater, and more Victorious host, durst not offer violence to the far lesse City of Florence when Signior Caponi put an affront upon him in the Town-house ; Bidding him beat his Drums, and they would ring their Bells.

36.
The fugitive
Members re-
turned.

Upon the 6 of Aug. 1647. the Generall brought the fugitive Speaker and Members to the Houses with a strong Party, (who might have returned sooner without a Guard, had not their own crimes & designes hindred them) the two Palaces filled with armed guards, double files clean through Westminster-Hall, up the staires to the House of Commons, and so through the Courts of Request to the Lords House, and down staires againe into the old Palace. The Souldiers looking scornfully upon many Members that had sat in the absence of the Speaker, and threatening to cut some of their throats. And all things composed to so ridiculous a terror, as if they would *befreak* (without speaking) the absence of those Members that sat. Placed the Speakers in the Chaires without Vote, out of which they had been justly Voted for deserting their calling ; where the Generall was placed in a *Chaine of State* (enough to make a fool of any man that was not fit for it) and received speciall thanks for his service from both Speakers. And in the second place, a day of thanksgiving was appointed to God ; (I think) for his patience in not striking these Atheisticall Saints with thunder and lightening for making him a stale to their pre-meditated villanies. Here Sir Thomas Fairfax with a breath (and before any man that was not privy to the designe could recover out of his amazement) was made Generalissimo of all the Forces and Forts of England and Wales ; to dispose of them at his pleasure : Constable of the Tower of London. The Common Souldiers

ers Voted one monthes gratuity, besides their pay (the Commons being in good case to give gifts before they pay'd debts:) left to the discretion of the Generall to set what Guards he pleased upon the two Houses. Whereby you may perceive in what unequall condition those Members that did not runne away with the Speaker, doe now sit; after so many reiterated threats of the Generall against them in his printed Papers.

After this, the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, and the whole Army, with the Traine of Artillery, marched through London in so great pomp and triumph, as if they would have the people understand that the Authority of the Kingdome (in whose hands soever it remaines in these doubtfull times) must submit to the power of the sword, the hilt and handle whereof they hold. They turne out the Lieutenant of the Tower without cause shewne. The consequencies of these two actions were, that immediately the City decayed in Trade above 200000 £. a week; and no more Bullion came to the Mint.

They displace all other Governours, though placed by Ordinance of Parliament, and put in men of their owne party; for this incroaching faction will have all in their owne hands. They alter and divide the City of London, setting up particular Militia's at Westminster, Southwarke, and the Hamlets of the Tower, that being so divided they may be the weaker. Demolish the Lines of Communication; that the City and Parliament may lie open to Invasion when they please; and fright many more Members from the Houses with threats, and feare of false Impeachments.

The 11. Impeached Members having leave by Order of the House, and licence of the Speaker some to goe beyond Sea; and Anthony Nicholls to goe into his owne Country to settle his Affairs: some of them (as Sir William Waller and M. Den: Hollis) were attacted upon the Sea; Nicholls arrested upon the way into Cornwall by the Army, and despightfully used; and when the Generall was inclined to free him, Cromwell (whose malice is known to be as unquenchable as his nose) told him he was a Traitor to the Army. You see now upon whom they meane to fixe the peoples allegiance, (for where no Allegiance is, there can be no Treason) and to what purpose they have since by their 4. Votes (first debated between the Independent Grandees of the Houses and Army) laid aside the King.

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Col: Birch formerly employed for *Ireland* by the Parliament, was imprisoned, and his men mutinyed against him by the Army : and Sir Sam: Luke resting quietly in his own house, was there seized upon and carryed Prisoner into the Army.

All these acts of terror were but so many Scar-crowes set up to fright more Presbyterians from the Houses, and make the Army masters of their Votes.

38.
Proceedings of
both Houses
under the po-
wer of the Ar-
my.

I must in the next place fall upon the proceedings in both Houses, acted under the power and influence of this all-inslaving, all-devou-ring Army, and their engaged party. To attaine the knowledge whereof, I have used my utmost industry and interest with many my neere friends and kinsmen sitting within those walls, heretofore (when Kings, not Brewers and Draymen, were in power) the walls of publique liberty.

39.
Ordinance to
null and voide
all Acts passed
in absence of
the two renega-
do Speakers.

The Lords that sat in absence of the two Speakers (all but the Earle of Pembroke, whose easie disposition made him fit for all companies) found it their safest course to forbear the House, leaving it to be possessed by those few Lords that went to, and engaged with the Army : which engaged Lords sent to the Commons for their concurrence to an Ordinance, *To make all Acts, Orders and Ordinances* passed from the 26 July (when the tumult was upon the Houses) to the 6. of August following (being the day of the fugitive Members returne) void and null ab initio. This was five or six severall dayes severally and fully debated, as often put to the Question, and carryed in the Negative every time : yet the Lords still renewed the same Message to them, beating back their Votes into their throats, and would not acquiesce, but upon every denyall put them againe to roll the same stone, contrary to the priviledges of the Commons.

40.
Menaces used
by the engaged
party in the
House.

The chief Arguments used by the engaged party were all grounded upon the Common places of feare and necessity : M. Solicitor threatening if they did not concur, the Lords were resolved to vindicate the Honour of their House, and sit no more : they must have recourse to the power of the sword ; the longest sword take all. That they were all engaged to live and die with the Army. They should have a sad time of it. Hasterig used the like language ; farther saying, Some heads must fly off ; and he feared the Parliament of *England* would not save the Kingdome of *Eng-*

land

land, they must look another way for safety. They could not satisfie the Army but by declaring all void *ab initio*; and the Lords were so far engaged, that no middle way would serve. To this was answered, that this was an Appeal from the Parliament to the Army. And when these and many more threats of as high nature were complained of as destructive to the liberty and being of Parliaments, the Speaker would take no notice of it. Sir *Henry Vane junior*, Sir *John Evelyn junior*, *Prydeaux*, *Gourdon*, *Mildmay*, *Tho: Scott*, *Cornel: Holland*, and many more, used the like threats.

Upon the last negative (being the fift or sixth) the Speaker (perceiving greater enforcements must be used) pulled a Letter out of his pocket, from the Generall and Generall Council of the Army, (for that was now their style) pretending he then received it; to the House. But it was conceived he received it over night, with directions to conceal it, if the Question had passed in the Affirmative. It was accompanied with a *Remonstrance* full of villanous language and threats against those Members that sate while the two Speakers were with the Army: calling them pretended Members, Charging them (in generall) with *Treason, Treachery, and breach of Trust*: And protested if they shall presume to sit before they have cleared themselves; that they did not give their assents to such and such Votes, they should sit at their perill, and he would take them as Prisoners of Warre, and try them at a Councell of Warre.

What King of *England* ever offered so great a violence to the fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament, as to deny them the Liberty of Voting *I and No* freely? Certainly the *little finger* of a *Jack Cade* or a *Wat Tyler*, is far heavier then the *loynes* of any King.

Many Members were amazed at this Letter, and it was moved, That the Speaker should Command all the Members to meet at the House the next day, and should declare, That they should be secured from danger: And that it might be Ordered that no more but the ordinary Guardes should attend the House. But these two motions were violently opposed with volties of threats by the aforesaid parties and others. And after more then two hours debate, the Speaker refused to put any question upon them, or any of them; and so adjourned to the next morning,

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ring, leaving the *Presbyterian Members* to meet at their Perill.

The next day being Friday, the 20 Aug. there was a very thin Assembly in the House of Commons; the House having with so much violence denied protection to their Members the day before, made most of the *Presbyterian party* absent. Some went over to the *Independent party*: others satte mute. At last a Committee was appointed presently to bring in an *Ordinance of Accommodation*; which was suddenly done and passed, and is now Printed at the latter end of the said menacing *Remonstrance* of the Army: a Childe fit to waite upon such a Mother.

42.
Debate in passing the Ordinance of null and voide.

Thus was this *Ordinance of null and voyde* gotten (which hath been the cause of so much danger and trouble to Multitudes of people) by the Lords reiterated breaches upon the Priviledges of the House of Commons. The engaged parties threats within doores: The Armies thundring Letters and Remonstrance: Their Guardes upon their doores, and a Regiment or two of Horse in *Hide Parke*, ready to make impressions upon the House, in case things had not gone to their mindes: diverse of whose Commanders walking in the Hall, enquired often how things went, protesting they would pull them forth by the Eares if they did not give speedy satisfaction.

Thus for the *manner* of passing that *Ordinance*: the *matter* of Argument used against it was (as far as I can hear) to the purpose following. It was alledged that the force upon Munday 26 July, ended that day, that the next day being Tuesday, the Houses satte quietly all day, and gave their Votes freely and so forward; the City having sufficiently provided for their security. That this transient force upon Munday, could have no influence on the Houses for the time to come. That the Supream power of no Nation can avoide their owne acts by pretended force. This would make the common People, the Jurors, and Judges to question all acts done in Parliament, since one man can, and may judge of force as well as another. This were to bring the Records of the House into dispute: *Magna Charta* was never gotten nor confirmed but by force; force was three fold: upon one or both Houses; or upon the King, in giving His Royall Assent; neither

could

could plead it, the Parliament is presumed to consist of such men as dare lay downe their lives for their Country. When the King came with force to demand the 5 Members ; when the City came downe crying for Justice against the Earl of Strafford ; when the women came downe crying for Peace ; when the Reformado's came down in a much more dangerous Tumult then this of the unarmed Prentices ; yet the Houses continued sitting and Acting, and none of their Acts were nullified. That to make their Acts, Orders and Ordinances voide *ab initio*, would draw many thousand men who had acted under them into danger of their lives and fortunes, who had no Authority to dispute the validity of our Votes : we must therefore give them power to dispute our acts hereafter upon matter of fact ; for to tie men to unlimited and undisputable obedience to our Votes, and yet to punish them for obeying whensoever we shall please to declare our acts voide, *ab initio*, is contrary to all reason. If to act upon such Ordinances were criminall, it was more criminall in those that made them. And who shall be judges of those that made them ? Not the Members that went to the Army ; They are parties pre-ingaged to live and die with the Army ; and have approved the *Armies Declaration*, calling those that fate, *a few Lords and Gentlemen, and no Parliament* : they have joyned with a power out of the Houses to give a Law to, and put an engagement upon both Houses ; a president never heard of before, of most dangerous consequence, it takes away the liberty of giving *I and No* freely, being the very life of Parliaments : If all done under an actuall force be voide, it is questionable whether all hath been done this 4 or 5 years be not voide ; and whether His Majesties Royall Assent to some good Bills passed this Parliament, may not be said to have been extorted by force : if the Kings Party prevaile, they will declare this Parliament voide, upon the ground your selves have laid. 1 Hen. 7. That King urged the Parliament to make voide *ab initio*, all Acts passed Rich. 3. which they refused upon this ground : That then they should make all that had Acted in obedience to them lyable to punishment, only they repealed those Acts.

The debate upon this *Ordinance of null and voide*, held from Munday 9. of Aug. to the 20 Aug. (when it was passed) but not without

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43.
The Lords
Message to the
Commons to
approve the
Declaration of
the Army.

without some interloping debates of something a different nature, yet all looking the same way: occasioned by *Messages* from the Lords: Namely, once upon a Message from them, The said Declaration from Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Army, concerning their advance to London was read & debated in gross, whether the Commons should concur with the Lords in approving it? But almost all but the engaged Party and their Pensioners distasted it, it was laid by without any question put, lest it should prove dangerous to put a Negative upon their Masters of the Army. Yet many menaces (according to custome) were used by the engaged party to get it passed; *Haslerig* affirming that those Gentlemen that sate and voted for a Committee of safety, and the Kings comming to London, did drive on the designe of the City protestation and engagement. To which was Answered, That the Committee of safety was not then newly erected by those which sate, but the old Committee revived by that Vote, which had been long since erected in a full & free Parliament, when the Army first mutinyed and threatned to March to London: and for the same ends; Defence of Parliament and City. And for the Kings comming to London, it was Voted only to get Him out of the power of the Army; as formerly in a full and free Parliament he had been voted to Richmond for the same reason.

44.
The Commit-
tee of safety.

Upon another Message from the Lords, the Commons concurred in an Ordinance to erect a Committee of Examinations to inquire into, and examine the City Petition, engagement, and the force upon the Houses 26 July, and all endeavours to raise any forces, &c. This Committee consisted of 22 Commons besides Lords, almost all of them Members engaged with the Army: but because there were some three or four Presbyterians gotten amongst them, to shut these Canaanites forth, that the Godly, the true seed of Israel might shuffle the Cardes according to their owne minde, the 13 Aug. after (upon another Message from the Lords) there was a Sub-committee of Secrecy, named out of this grand Committee of Examinations, to examine upon Oath. The persons were, the Earl of Denbigh and Mulgrave, Lord Gray of Wark, Lord Howard of Escrig, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Solicitor, Gourdon, Miles Corbet, Alderman Pennington, Allen, Edwards, Col: Ven, or any three of them. All persons engaged to live and die

45.
A Committe
to examine the
Tumult.

46.
A Sub-com-
mittee of Secre-
cie selected to
examine the
Tumult.

die with the Army, and now appointed to make a clandestine scrutiny, and search into the lives and Actions of the *Presbyterian party* that sate in Parliament doing their duty, when the engaged party fled to the Army, and brought them up in hostile manner against them.

The unreasonableness of this way of proceeding was much urged ; and farther alleged that it was neither *consonant to the Customs of the House*, nor unto *common reason*, That a Sub-committee should be chosen out of the *Grand Committee of examinations*, with more power then the Grand Committee it self had, and excluding the rest of the Committee, under the pretence of *secrecie*. Besides, it was against the priviledge of the House of Commons, that the Lords should nominate the Commons in that Sub-committee as well as their own Members. But the *Independent Grandees* would have it passe. Breach of Priviledge, and all other considerations are easily swallowed when they are subservient to their present designes.

The party engaged were resolved to be *Examiners, Informers, and witnesses*, as well as *parties*, (so active was their malice) and had so well packed the Cardes, that eight or nine Schismaticall Lords engaged likewise with them, and the Army should be judges of the *Presbyterian party* that sate in absence of the two Speakers, the better to give the two Houses a through Purge, and make them of the same complexion with the Army : without which they had no hopes to divide the power and profit of the Land between themselves by 10000. l. 20000. l. in a morning shared amongst the godly ; and to make the whole Kingdom to be *Gibeonites*, hewers of wood, and drawers of water to the faithfull.

In order to the playing of this game, *Miles Corbet* (Interpreter to that *State-puppet-play* behinde the curtain, commonly called *The close Committee of examinations*) upon the 3. Septemb. stood up and began his Report from that *Inquisition*, saying, he would begin with the *Committee of safety*, wherein many Members were concerned ; and it was necessary to purge the Houses first. But farther said, he would suppress the Names of many of his Witnesses, because the Depositions he should report were but *preparatory examinations*, and it would be for service of the State to conceal their names.

47.
Debate upon
passing the
Committee of
Secret exami-
nations.

48.

The manner
of prosecution
and proceeding
upon the Tu-

49.
Miles Corbet
makes report of
Examinations
taken at the
close Com-
mittee.
First, against
the Committee
of Safety.

The History of Independency.

He first produced many Warrants signed at the Committee of Safety by the Earles of Pembroke, Suffolke, Middlesex, Lincolne, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Maynard, Mr. Hollis, Sir Phil: Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Mr. Long, Mr. Nicholls, Sir William Lemes, Mr. Baynton.

Against Master Baynton.

Next, Corbet reported he had a Witnesse who deposed that a Gentleman with a red head had signed many Warrants, supposed to be Mr. Edward Baynton : at length after much wyer-drawing of the businesse, one Warrant was shewn to Mr. Baynton, which he confessed to be his hand. And presently Haslerigge moved that Mr. Baynton might forthwith Answer : against which was objected , That since these were but preparatory examinations, not legall proofs, no man was bound to answer them : otherwise a man shall be put to as many severall answers as severall new matters of Charge come in against him, and shall day by day be liable to new vexations, and never know when he hath cleared himself. But Corbet (who of an Examiner was now become the Kings Solicitor, or Advocate Criminally) moved to proceed to judgment against him : but first to ask him some preparatory questions. But it was answered, that it was illegall to squeeze examinations out of a mans own mouth, neither was a man bound to answer, where his words may condemn, but not absolve him : for so much as depends upon the testimony of Witneses against this Gentleman, you cannot proceed unlesse he be by, and have liberty to put crosse questions to the Witneses. It is alleaged, Warrants were signed, and all done in relation to a new war. It is answered, it was done in order to self-defence (allowable by the Lawes.) Long before this occasion, when the Army first mutinied and threatned to march up to London, and use such extraordinary means against the Parliament and City as God had put into their hands, you then in a full and free Parliament appointed a Committee of safety for your defence, who sate and acted. This Committee was but the same revived, and upon the like or worse threats and menaces, as by the many printed Papers from the Army will appear ; you have no Testimony against this Gentleman by name, but only a Character of his haire: and for signing the Warrant confessed by himself he is acquitted by the Proviso of the Ordinance, 20. August last, which excepteth only such as acted upon

upon the force, But when the Committee of safety was revived, the Parliament was freer from force then it is now. Mr. Baynton notwithstanding was adjudged to be suspended the House during pleasure of the House, which is as much as to say, So long as the Tyranny of this domineering Faction lasteth.

The 4. of Sept. Corbet reported he had a Witnesse (but named him not, because they were but preparatory examinations) who deposed that an elderly Gentleman of low stature, in a gray suit, with a little Stick in his hand, came forth of the House into the Lobby when the Tumult was at the Parliament dore, and whispered some of the Apprentices in the eare, and eneouraged them, (supposed to be Mr. Walker.) Mr. Walker denied he spake then with any man in the *Lobby*, or saw any face that he knew there; and so neglected the businesse as a thing not considerable. But the next day Corbet moved that Mr. Walker might be ordered to put on his gray Suite againe and appeare before the Close Committee, and the Witnesse, who saith he knoweth him againe if he see him. I heare Mr. Walker desired to know (seeing the Witnesse had not named him) by what authority the Examiners should take such a Deposition, and make application thereof to him : and seeing there were many Gentlemen in the House that day with whom that Character agreed as well as with himself, why the Reporter did not move that all to whom that Character was applicable might be put to that test as well as himselfe, but singled him out for a marke to shoot at : complaining he was not ignorant out of what Quiver this Arrow came : he had beene threatned with a Revenge by some of that Close Committee, and had other enemies amongst them, that could bite without barking. He told them that yesterday Mr. Corbet Reported that the supposed old man whispered, &c. but desired those that were then in the House to call to mind that the noise was then so great in the *Lobby* that no whisper, nay the lowdest words he was able to speak could not be heard. Then Corbet changed his Tale, saying, the words were, What you doe, doe quickly : and were spoken aloud : and said, the Character agreed best with Mr. Walker, for that the Deponent said, the Gentleman was a Leane meager man.

Here Mr. Walker desired the House to take notice that the

Reporter had twice varied his Report. 1. In the words spoken, from a *whisper* to *loud speaking*. 2. In the Character enlarged with the words *leane* and *meager*. Here is Hayle-shot provided, if one misse, the other must hit; Yet with this addition, there were divers in the House with whom the Character agreed as well as with himself. And by the incivility of his words, it should seem the Witnesse is a man of no breeding: wherefore he desired to hear his Name, that he might enquire of his credit and repute. If the Reporter thinks he may be practised, he doth not think him a man of honesty: and then he had more cause to suspect him. He farther complained, that to make Hue and Cry after him (as it were upon fresh suite) upon a character of his person and cloths five or six weeks after the supposed fact, (he never having absented himselfe one day from the House) favoured too much of a party overswayed with malice and Revenge.

Your *close Committee of examinations* carry on busineses so in the darke (being parties ingaged with the Army, and not sworne to be true in their office) that no man can see how to defend himself, or how he is dealt with, or when he is free from trouble and danger: It seems we are here called *ex tempore* to answer for our lives, *ore tenus*; And our *Accusation* beginneth with the examination of our persons: to make us state a *Charge* against our selves, to betray our selves, and cut our own throats with our tonges, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and all those laws of God and man, which in the KING's time, were in use. And no Witnesses are produced, nor so much as named: methinks therefore we are compelled to play at *blind man bough* for our lives, not seeing who strikes us. You have the most summary way of hanging one another that ever I saw; It is a kiad of Star-Chamber proceeding in matter of life and death; your *secret examinations* favour so much of the *Spanish Inquisition*, and of the *Council of troubles* erected by the Duke d' Alva in the *Low-countries* (called *Concilium Sanguinis*) that they can never agree with the *Laws and nature of our Nation*: If our Kings shall imitate you hereafter, they will be the greatest Tyrants in the world. Formalties and priviledges of Court, derogating from the common rules of Law, and practice of the land, are but curtains drawn before oppression and tyranny to dazzle mens eyes. Give me leave

to tell you that I have served you faithfully from the beginning, and have taken as much paines, and run as many hazards as most men in your service, wherein I have lost my health and above 7000l. of my Estate, without one penny compensation, as other men have had, nor have I laid my hands upon any mans mony or goods, or had any gainfull imployment from you: I contented my self to serve my Country gratis: and with some little Honour I had gotten thereby; whereby, you have now Robbed me, by a Roaving accusation shot at Random at me. Had I cheated the State of 4000l. or 5000l. peradventure I might have beeene thought a godly, confiding man, of right principles, and have had 1000l. given me for my paines. Sir, you have heard the voice of a Free-man (not of a Slave) that dares keep his first principles, Religion, Lawes, and just Liberties whosoever lays them aside; and protest against Tyranny and Oppression, where-soever he finds it, whether in the Government of *one or many*. You may murder me by the Sword of Justice, but you cannot hurt me: but deliver me from the evills to come. Nor shall I be unwilling to suffer a Goale-delivery of my soul from the prison of my body when I am called to it.

When Mr. Walker had done his defence, the debate followed, much to this purpose, *That to order him to appear in his Gray suite before the close Committee and Witnesse was illegall, and against the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject.*

1. *It is to help another to accuse himself; which is all one as if he did accuse himself.*

2. *To bid a Witnesse look upon a man (after he is engaged to name some body) is to prompt him to go no farther then the party shewed.*

3. *A Witnesse ought not to be twice examined against a man. That is, to draw him on by degrees to swear home, and to mend in his second Deposition what fell short in his first.*

4. *If the Witnesse first depose to the matter, not naming the party, and five or six weeks after declare the Person, without oath, this is no Deposition, and if the Oath be renewed the Witnes is twice examined. So the businesse was laid by, and Corbet allowed to shew Mr. Walker casually as he could meet with him to his witnesse, which was (in a manner) to draw dry foot after him with his bloud hound.*

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I was the more curious in gathering the circumstances of this businesse out of the reports of many severall men, in regard of the rarenesse of the case, and the exquisitenesse of the malice with which it was prosecuted. And it seemed to me the more admirable, because I heare generally that Mr. Walker hath alwaies been opposite to all parties and factions, both *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, upon whom he looks as the common disturbers both of Church and Common-wealth, and enemies of peace. Nor could he ever be perfwaded to be at any of their *Junto's* or secret meetings ; and therefore it is not probable he should suddenly and in the open view of the House go forth and engage with a company of silly unarmed Apprentice Boyes. But I heare they cannot endure his severity, nor he their knavery. What will not the malice of a desperate *Anabaptistickall* faction attempt ? they have long sported in the bloud and treasure of the land, as the *Leviathan* doth in the waters : and do now keep up a numerous Army to carry on those desigues by force, which they can no longer make good by fraud. All England is become as *Munster* was, and our Grandees suitable to *John of Leyden*, and *Knipperdolling*.

Against Ma-
ster Recorder
Glyn.

The next report Corbet made concerning Mr. Recorder *Glyn*. The chief things objected were, That he had frequented the Common Councell, the Committees of the Militia, and safety, more then he was wont to doe : That he was silent and made no opposition : And that he gave thanks to the Apprentices when they delivered their Petition to the City, offering their help for defence thereof against whomsoever.

The Recorder answered, the Charge was long, and his memory short : He desired time to examine his memory, concerning the circumstances of time, place, persons, and other matters ; and that he might examine Witnesses for clearing his innocency. But his Prosecutors (hoping to do more good upon him by way of surprise, then in a deliberate and legall way of proceeding) put him upon it to answer *ex tempore*. He confessed and avoided some things, but denied the most materiall. He denied he was more frequent at their meetings then ordinary. For his silence, he alleged he was but the Cities servant and had no voice amongst them, but when his opinion was demanded : That he gave thanks to the Apprentices as a servant by command, yet had mixed some admonitions

monitions and Reprehensions in speech to them.

So the Recorder withdrew. And presently *Hasterig* (according to his custome) moved judgement might be given against him. To which was answered, that the Recorder denied the principall parts of his Charge ; and offered proofes by witnessses : you must give him that leave, or take all parts of his speech for granted ; as well what makes for him, as against him. Two or three dayes more will make this businesse ripe for judgement : let him have one judgement for all. If you judge him now to be expelled the House, he is already forejudged, & that will be a leading case to a farther judgement : For who dares acquit where you have condemned ? A man ought to be but once judged upon one accusation. The dishonour of expulsion is a punishment exceeding death. If you judge now upon one part of the Accusation, and hereafter upon another part of the Accusation, he will be twice condemned upon one Accusation. And shall never know when he hath satisfied the Law ; an endlesse vexation.

Yet *Hasturig* moved he might receive judgement now, for what was already proved or confessed, to be expelled the House; (saying, the Lords went on without obstruction in their busineses, because they had purged their House) and that he might be farther impeached hereafter upon farther hearing. So he was adjudged to be discharged the House, committed to the Tower, and further impeached hereafter.

Sir John Maynard the same day was called to Answer. He desired a Copy of his Charge, with leave to Answer in writing by advice of Councell, as the 11 Members formerly did : To examine witnesses on his part, and crosse examine their witnesses.

But these requests were denied, and he Commanded to answer *ex tempore*. He gave no particular Answer, but denied all in generall : as Col: *Pride* (whom he cited for his President) had formerly done at their Barre. He was adjudged to be discharged the House, committed to the Tower, and farther impeached. The like for Commissary Generall *Copley* whose case differed little.

The 8 of Sept. the Earl of Suffolke, Lincolne, Middlesex, the Against the 7
Lords Barkley, Willoughby, Hunsdon, and Maynard were impeached of High Treason, in the name of the Commons of England, for

for levying war against the King, Parliament, and Kingdom. The Earle of Pembroke (then sent to Hampton-Court with the *Propositions* on purpose to avoid the storm) was omitted untill Wednesday following, and so had the favour to be thotight not worth remembiring. Sir John Evelyn the younger sent up to the Lords with the *Impeachment*, and a desire they might be committed. They were committed to the *Black Rodde*. And so the engaged Lords had their House to themselves according to their desires.

50.
Schismatricall
Petitions.

14. Sept. a Petition from divers *Schismaticks* in Essex came to the Houses, bearing this Title, *To the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, distinct from those Lords and Commons that sat in absence of the two Speakers.*

16. Sept. a Petition from divers *Sectaries* of Oxfordsh: Bucks: Berkeleys was delivered the House against diverse *Members* sitting in the House, enemies to God and Godlinesse, enemies to the Kingdome, &c. *Usurpers of Parliament w^r Authority, who endeavoured to bring in the King upon His owne Tearnmes.* They desired a free Parliament, and that (according to the desires of the Army) those that sat when the Parliament was suspended in absence of the two Speakers, might be removed: there was a clause against *Tythes, &c.* in it. Such another Petition came but the day before from Southwarke.

The ayme of these Petitions. These Petitions were all penned by the engaged party of the Houses and Army, and sent abroad by Agitators to get subscriptions. The designe was to put the two parties in the House into heights one against another, to make the *lesser party* in the House (viz. the engaged party but 59) to expell the greater party being above 140. whereby the House might be low and base in the opinion of the people, and no Parliament, and so leave all to the power of the Sword. The Army daily recruiting, and thereby giving hopes to all loose people, that the Army should be their common Receptacle, as the Sea is the common Receptacle of all waters; because those who had no hope to be Members of Parliament might become Members of this Army. Besides their plausible way of prompting the people to petition against *Tythes, Enclosures, and Copy hold fines uncertain*, was to encourage them to side with the Army against all the *Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the land*, (from whom the Army did most fear an opposition)

and

and to destroy *Monarchy* it self; since it is impossible for any Prince, to be a King only of Beggers, Tinkers, and Coblers.

But these interloping discourses omitted, let us again return to these prodigious *Impeachments*. The next in order comes in the Against the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Citizens*, with whom short work *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Citizens*. was made. *Impeachments* were sent up to the *Lords* against them, and they sent to the *Tower*, upon a bare report of the Inquisitor Generall *Corbet*, and the reading of some depositions, the *Witnesses names* for the most part concealed, and none of them so much as called to the *Commons Bar* to see what they could say for themselves: Contrary to *Magna Charta*, 29. chap. and contrary to 28 *Edw. 3.* enacting, that no man shall be put out of his *Land*, &c. nor taken, nor Imprisoned, &c. nor put to death, &c. without being brought to answer by due processe of *Law*. That is according to the Stat. 42 *Edm. 3.* ch. 3. That no man be brought to answer without presentment before *Justices*, or matter of *Record*, or by due process, or writ originall, according to the old *Law of the Land*: not according to new invented Articles of impeachment, but according to those Laws that were well known, and old in *Edw. 3.* time: see Stat. 37 *Edw. 3.* 1 *Edw. 6. ch. 12.* 6 *Edw. 6. ch. 11.* and the Stat. 25 *Ed. 3.* saith, no man shall be taken by Petition or suggestion made to the King, or his Councell, &c. and the House of Peers is no more but the Kings Councell, as anon I shall make evident.

It was moved by divers that these Gent: might be Tried according to *Law* at the *Kings Bench* by a Jury of twelve men *de vici- neto*, their Peers and equals to judge of matter of fact: alleging peacments be- that the Common Law was the Birthright of all the free people of fore the Lords, *England*: which was one of the three Principles for which the Parl: so often declared in print that they fought, and for defence wher- of they had entred into a *Covenant*, with their hands lifted up to God: the other two principles were Religion and Liberties.

1. *The Lords were not Peers to the Commoners*: At the Common Law they shall have sworn Judges for matter of Law, of whom they may aske questions in doubtfull poynts, nor can they be judges in their own cases.

2. *They have sworn Juries of the neighbourhood for matters of fact, whom they may challenge*.

3. *The known Lawes and Statutes for rules to judge by, which in*

The History of Independency.

case of Treason is the Star. 25 Edw. 3. you cannot Vote nor declare a new Treason: And if you could, to do it ex post facto, is contrary to all rules of justice: The Apostle saith, Sin is a breach of a Commandement (or Law:) I had not known sin but by the Law: the Law therefore most go before the Sin.

4. At the Common Law, They have Witnesses openly and newly examined upon oath before the Accused's face, who may except against them, and cross examine them.

5. Even in Star Chamber and Chancery (where only hearings are upon Testimonies) the Examiners are sworn Officers.

6. A man hath but one Tryall and Judgment, upon one accusation: so that he knows when he hath satisfied the Law.

In this way of proceeding, all these necessary legalities are laid by: and these Gentlemen have not so much fair play for their Lives and Estates as Naboth had for his Vineyard: he had all the formalities of the law: yea, he had law it self: yet he had not justice: because they were the sons of Belial that were set before him: what shall we conceive these Witnesses are that do not appear? nay, whose very names are concealed? yet Naboth was murdered by the sword of Justice: for the honour of Parliaments give not the people cause to suspect, these Gentlemen shall be so too: *non recurruunt ad extraordinaria, quando fieri potest per ordinaria.*

But all this was but to charme a deafe Adder: the nine or ten engaged Lords that then possessed the House, were thought to be fitter then a Jury of Middlesex to make work for the hang-man, and yet they have no Judicature over the Commons: as appears by the president of Sir Simon de Berisford, William Taylour, and the City of Cambridge. Note that one president against the Jurisdiction of a Court is more valued then a hundred for it: because the Court cannot be supposed ignorant of the Law, and its own rights; but a particular man or client may. see Sir John Maynard's Royall quarrell, and his Laws subversion: Lieut. Col. Lilburne's whip for the present House of Lords: and Judge Jenkins Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament, dated 21. Febr. 1647. As for the cases of Weston, Gommes and Hall, (cited by Mr. Pryn) they were for facts done beyond Sea, and before the Star. 1 Hen. 4. ch. 14. whereof the Common Law

52.
Arguments
proving the
Lords to have
no power of
Iudicature over
the Commons.

Law could then have no conuincing: & therefore an extraordinary way of proceeding before the Lords was requisite, and by the Kings speciall Authority it was done, without which, (I dare boldly affirme) the Lords have no Judicature at all : which thus I make appear.

53.

The House of
Peers no Court
of Judicature at
all properly,
and per se.

1. The King by delivering the Great Seale to the *Lord Keeper*, makes him *Keeper of his Conscience* for matter of equity. By his *Brevia patentia* to the *Judges of the two Benches, and the Exchequer*, the King makes them *Administrators, and Interpreters of his Lawes*: But he never trusts any but himself with the power of pardoning and dispensing with the rigour of the Law in Criminaall cases: And though the Lord Keeper is Speaker of the Lords House of Court, yet he is no Member of the Lords House *virtute officii*: The Judges are not Members, but Assistants only: So that no man in the House of Peers, as he is simply a Peere, is trusted by the King either with dispensation of law, or equity.

2. When a Peer of Parliament, or any man else is tried before the Lords in Parliament criminally, he cannot be tried by his Peers only, because in acts of Judicature, there must be a Judge superior, who must have his inferiors ministeriall to him: Therefore in the Triall of the Earle of Strafford (as in all other Trialls upon life and death, in the Lords House) the King grants his Commission to a *Lord High Steward* to sit as Judge, and the rest of the Lords are but in the nature of Jurors. So that it is the Kings *Commission* that authoriseth and distinguisheth them.

3. When a *Writ of Error* issueth out of the Chauncery to the House of Peers, they derive their Authority meerly from that Writ.

For the three Reasons aforesaid, The *House of Peers* is no Court of Judicature at all without the Kings speciall Authority granted to them either by his *Writ*, or his *Commission*. And the Lords by their *four Votes* having denied all farther addresse or application to the King, have cut off from themselves that fountaine from which they derive all their power: And all Trialls by Commission must be upon Bils, or Acts of Attainder, not by *Articles of Impeachment*; a way never heard of before this Parliament, and invented to carry on the designes of a restless impetuous Faction: Had the Faction had but so much wit as to try those Gentlemen

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by Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, before Sergeant *Wild*; he would have borrowed a point of law to hang a hundred of them for his own preferment.

Observe that almost all the cases cited by Mr. *Pryn* concerning the Peers Trials of Commissioners were authorized by the King, upon the speciall instance of the House of Commons; As for the House of Commons they never pretended to any power of Judicature, and have not so much authority as to administer an oath, which every Court of Pye-poaldres hath.

But this way of triall before the pre-ingaged Lords, and upon *Articles of Impeachment* (which they keep by them of all sorts and sizes fit for every man, as in *Birchin-lane* they have suites ready made to fit every body) was the apter meanes to bring those men to death whom they feared living: had not a doubt of the Scots comming in taught them more moderation, then their nature is usually acquainted with; and to fright away, or (at least) put to silence the rest of the *Members* with fear of having their names put into *blank Impeachments*. And that it might be so apprehended; *Miles Corbet* moved openly in the House of Commons that they should proceed with the Impeachments which were ready, nothing wanted but to fill up the Blanks, they might put in what names they pleased. This *Inquisitor generall*, this prologue to the Hang-man, that looks more like a hang-man then the Hang-man himself, hath since gotten the rich office of *Register of the Chancery*, as a reward for his double diligence: Oh, Sergeant *Wilde* and Mr. *Steele* despair not of a reward.

55.
Establishment
for the Army.

Friday, 17. Sept. the advice of Sir *Tho: Fairfax* and his Council of War was read in the House of Commons, *what standing Forces* they thought fit to be kept up in *England and Wales*, and *what Garrisons*: Also *whit Forces to send for Ireland*; namely, for *Ireland*, 6000 Foot, and 2400 Horse, out of the supernumerary loose forces, being no part of the Army; And for *England*, upon established pay, 18000 Foot at 8*d. per diem*. 7200 Horse at 2*s. per diem* each Trouper; 1000 Dragoones, and 200 Firelocks. Traine of Artillery, Armes and Ammunition, to be supplied. The Foot to be kept in Garrisons, yet so that 6000 may be readily drawn into the field.

The Independent party argued, That the Army were unwilling to

to goe for *Ireland*, pretending their engagement to the contrary ; if you divide or disband any part of your Army , they will suspect you have taken up your old resolutions against them, to disband the whole Army : It is now no time to discontent them, when the Kings Answer to your Propositions tends to divide you and your Army, and the people are generally disaffected to you.

The Presbyterian party argued, That the engagement of the Army ought to be no rule to the Councils of the Parliament ; otherwise new Engagements every day may prescribe the Parliament new Rules : we must look two wayes. 1. Upon the people unable to beare the burden. 2. Upon the Army. Let us keep some power in our owne Hands, and not descend so far below the dignity of a Parliament, as to put all into the hands of the Generall and his Councell of War. You have almost given away all already. The Army adviseth you to keep up more Garrisons, then upon mature deliberation this House formerly Voted : you have already many Garrisons manned with gallant and faithfull men, to whom you owe Arrears ; to remove them, and place new Souldiers in their roomes, will neither please them, nor the places where they are quartered : who being acquainted with their old guests, will not willingly receive new in their roomes. These men have done you as good and faithfull service as any in the Army ; and were ready to obey you, and goe for *Ireland*, had they not been hindred by those who under pretence of an engagement to the contrary (which they mutinously entred into) will neither obey you, nor goe for *Ireland*, nor suffer others to goe. Though you discharge these men without paying their Arrears, (which others of other principles will not endure) yet give them good words : If you will be served by none, but such as are of your new principles ; yet consider your Army are not all alike principled, and peradventure the old principles may be as good as the new for publick, though not so fit for private designes and purposes. You have passed an Ordinance, *That none that have borne Armes against the Parliament shall be employed* : if you disband all such, your Army will be very thin ; many have entred into pay there in order to doe the King service, and bring the Parliament low. There is no reason you should keep up 1400 Horse more

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then you last voted to keep up, being but 5800 at which time 60000^l. a Month was thought an establishment sufficient both for England and Ireland. But now the whole charge of England and Ireland will amount to 114000l. a month : which must be raised upon the people, either directly and openly by way of settlement ; or indirectly and closely, partly by settlements, and partly by free-quarter, and other devices : nor will the pay of 2s. per diem to each ~~T~~ trooper, and 8d. to each Foot Souldier enable them to pay their quarters. If you mean to govern by the Sword, your Army is too little : if by the Laws and Justice of the Land, and love of the people, your Army is too great : you can never pay them : which will occasion mutinies in the Army, and ruine to the country. Thus disputed the Presbyterians, but to no purpose, it was carried against them.

Observe that when the War was at the highest, the monthly tax came but to 54000l. yet had we then the Earle of Essex's Army, Sir William Waller's, my Lord of Denbigh's, Maj.Gen: Poyn's, Maj.Gen: Massey's, Maj.Gen: Laughorne's, Sir William Brereton's, Sir Tho: Middletons Brigades, and other Forces in the field, besides Garrisons.

56. But now this Army hath 60000l. a month, and 20000l. a Monthly Taxes month more pretended for Ireland ; which running all through the fingers of the Committee of the Army.

57. Ireland why kept in a starving condition.

That Kingdome (which is purposely kept in a starving condition to break the Lord Inchiquin's Army, that Ireland may be a receptacle for the Saints against England spewes them forth) hath nothing but the envy of it, the sole benefit going to this Army : This 20000l. a month being a secret unknowne to the common Souldiers ; The Grandees of the Army put it in their own purses.

Moreover, this Army hath still a kind of free-quarter, (under colour of lodging, fire and candle) for who sees not that these masterlesse guests upon that interest continued in our houses, doe and will become Masters of all the rest ? and who dares ask mony for quarter of them, or accept it when it is colourably offered, without feare of farther harme ? besides, the Army (whose requests are now become commands) demanded that they might have the levying of this Tax : and that their accounts might be audited at the Head quarters : And though the Officers of this Army

Army (to catch the peoples affections) encouraged them often to petition the Houses against Free-quarter, pretending they would forbear it, after an establishment settled upon them; the use their party in the House made of these Petitions was to move for an Addition of 2000l. or 3000l. a month) and then they should pay their quarters, lodging, fire, and candle, nay stable-room too excepted.

Here it is not amisse to insert a word or two of this villainous oppression, *Free-quarter*; whereby we are reduced to the condition of conquered Slaves, no man being master of his owne Family, but living like *Bond-slaves* in their own houses, under these *Egyptian Task-masters*, who are Spyes and Intelligencers upon our words and deeds, so that every mans table is become a share to him. In the third year of King CHARLES, The Lords and Commons in their *Petition of Right* (when not above 2000 or 3000 Souldiers were thinly quartered upon the people but for a month or two) complained thereof to His Majesty as a great Grievance contrary to the Laws and Customes of the Realme, and humbly prayed as their Right and Liberty, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom that he would remove them, and that his people might not be so burdened in time to come; which His Majesty gratiouly granted. Yet now we are ten thousand times more oppressed with them, and if these quarterers offer violence or villainous usage to any man in his house or family, or commit murder or felony, they are protected against the laws and justice of the land, and *Triable only by a Councell of War* at the Head quarters, where a man can neither obtain justice, nor seek it with safety. So that we live under the burden of a perpetuall Army of 30000 or 40000 men, exempt from all but *martiall law*, which frequently oppreseth, seldom righreth any man: witnesse Oliver Cromwell's taking of *Thomson* (being no Souldier) from the House of Commons dore with Souldiers, imprisoning and condemning him at a Councell of War, where he late Judge in his owne cause, there being a quartell between them: Yet it was held Treason in the Earle of Strafford to condemn the Lord of *Walsingham* so, being a member of his Army, because it was in time of peace, as this was. Many other examples we have of the like nature, and of this Army, enough to perswade us that these vindicative

58.
Free-quarter.

59.
Martiall Law.

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decative Saints will not governe by the known *Laws of the Land*, (for which they have made us spend our money and bloud) but by *Martiall Law* and *Committee Law*, grounded upon Arbitra-
ry Ordinances of Parliament, which themselves in the first part
of *exact Collections*, pag. 727. confess, are not Lawes without the
Royall assent.

This Army hath been daily recruited without any Authority,
farre beyond the said number or pay established ; the supernu-
meraries living upon free quarter. And when complaints have been
made thereof in the House, the Army being quartered in severall
Brigades, supernumeraries have been disbanded in one Brigade, and
their Armes taken by their Officers : and shortly after they
have been listed againe in another Brigade, and their Armes sold
againe to the State, after a while to new Arme them. And of this
sort were those Armes which being found in a Magazine in
Town by some zelots, and rumoured to belong to the City for
the Arming of Reformado's, were upon examination found to
belong to *Oliver Cromwell* : so the businesse was buried in silence :
for though the Kings over-sights must be tragically published to
the world, yet the hainous crimes of the godly must lie hid under
the maske of Religion.

60.
Chears put up-
on the State.

61.
Arreares secu-
red, although
the State owes
them nothing.

And though they have usually taken free-quarter in one place,
and taken composition money for free-quarter in another place, some
of them in two or three places at once 3*s.* a day, some of them
5*s.* for a Trooper, and 1*s.* a day, and 1*s. 6d.* for a foot Soul-
dier, whereby no Arreares are due to them, but they owe money
to the State ; yet they have compelled the Houses to settle upon
them for pretended Arreares, 1. The moiety of the Excise (that
they may have the Souldiers help in leavying it. Although to
flatter the People, the Army had formerly declared against the
excise.) 2. The moiety of Goldsmiths-Hall. 3. Remainder of Bi-
shops Lands. 4. The customes of some Garrisons. 5. Forrest
Lands.

This Army brags they are the Saviours, (nay Conquerors) of
the Kingdome. Let them say when they saved it, whether at the
fight at Nazeby, or taking in of Oxford : and we will pay them
according to the then List. And for all the Recruiters taken in
since the reducing of Oxford, it is fit they be disbanded without
pay,

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pay, having been taken in without, nay against Authority, to drive on wicked designes, and enthrall King, Parliament, City, and Kingdome.

24. Decemb. 1647. The two Houses by their Commissioners presented to the King at Carisbrook-Castle four Bills to be passed as Acts of Parliament, and divers Propositions to be assented to. They are all printed, so is His Majesties Answer to them, wherefore I shall need to say the leſſe of them, only a word or two, to two of the Bills:

1. The *Act for raising, ſetting, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, Wales, &c.* 63. Act for the (though it seems to be but for 20 years) devests the King, his Heirs, and Successours of the power of the *Militia* for ever, without hope of recovery but by repealing the ſaid *Act*, which will never be in his nor their power: for, firſt, it ſaith, *That neither the King, nor his Heires or Successours, nor any other ſhall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but ſuch as ſhall act by authority and approbation of the ſaid Lords and Commons.* That is, a Committee of State of twenty or thirty Grandees, to whom the two Houses ſhall transfer this truſt, being over-awed by the Army, (for the ground-work of this Committee was laied by theſe words, though the Committee be erected ſince.) And ſecondly, it prohibiþeth the King, his Heires and Successours, &c. after the expiracion of the ſaid 20 years to exercise any of the ſaid powers without the conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, and in all caſes wherein the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall declare the ſafety of the Kingdome to be concerned after the ſaid 20 years expired, and ſhall paſſe any Bills for raiſing, arming, &c. forces by Land or Sea, or concerning levyng of mony, &c. if the Royall conſent to ſuch Bills ſhall not be given by ſuch a time, &c. then ſuch Bills ſo paſſed by the Lords and Commons ſhall have the force of *Acts of Parliament* without the Royall conſent. Lo, here a foundation laid to make an *Ordinance* of both Houses equall to an *Act of Parliament*, if this be granted in one caſe, it will be taken in another, and then theſe Subverters of our Religion, Laws and Liberties will turne their usurpation into a legall Tyranny.

2. It gives an unlimited power to the two Houses to raise what forces, and what numbers for land and ſea, and of what persons

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(without exceptions) they please, and to employ them as they shall judge fit.

3. To raise what mony they please for maintaining them, and in what sort they think fit out of any mans estate.

64.
Bill for adjournment of both Houses to any other place, &c.
Bill for adjournment of the Parliament as well for place, as time.

The Bill for adjournment of both Houses to any other place, &c. will enable the engaged Party of the two Houses and Army to adjourne the two Houses from time to time, to or near the Head quarters of the Army : where those Members that refuse to enter into the same Engagement, shall neither sit with accommodation nor safety, and so be shaken off at last : this is a new way of purging the Houses. Besides, the Parliament following the motions of the Army, the King shall follow the Parliament, whereby the Army having both King and Parliament present with them, whatsoever attempt shall be made against the Army shall be said to be against the safety and authority of the King and Parliament, and a legall Treason, triable by Indictment, not a constructive Treason only Triable before the Lords.

65.
The King's Answer debated.

Monday 3. Jan. the Kings Answer to the said Bills and Propositions was debated in the House of Commons. And first, Sir Thomas Wrotte (Jacke Pudding to Pridaux the Post-master) had his cue to go high, and feel the pulse of the House ; who spake to this purpose, That Bedlam was appointed for mad men, and Topet for Kings : That our Kings of late had carried themselves as if they were fit for no place but Bedlam : That his humble motion should consist of three parts :

1. To secure the King, and keep Him close in some inland Castle with sure Guards.

2. To draw up Articles of Impeachment against Him.

3. To lay Him by, and settle the Kingdome without Him. He cared not what form of Government they set up, so it were not by Kings and Devils.

Then Commissary Irton (seeming to speak the sense of the Army under the notion of many thousand godly men who had ventured their lives to subdue their enemies,) said after this manner, The King had denied safety and protection to his people by denying their four Bills : That subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people ; This being denied they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him :

That

That it was now expected after so long patience they should shew their resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament forsooke them first.

After some more debate when the House was ready for the question, *Cromwell* brought up the Reare : And giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godlinesse of the Army, argued : That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the *Kingdome* by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and government from *an obstinate man* whose heart God had hardened. That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expence of their bloud, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your owne and the *Kingdoms* safety (in which their owne is involved) to think themselves betrayed : and lest hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy whom they have subdued for your sake : and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of revenge then justice : lest despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means then adhering to you, who will not stick to your selves. And how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think and leave you to judge.

*Cromwell's
Speech.*

Observe, he laid his hand upon his Sword at the latter end of his Speech ; that Sword which being by his side could not keep him from trembling when Sir Philip Stapleton baffled him in the House of Commons.

This concluding Speech having something of menace in it was thought very prevalent with the House. The first of the four Questions being put, *That the two Houses should make no more addresses nor applications to the King* : The House of Commons was divided, 141. yeas, 91. noes, so it was carried in the affirmative. The other three Votes followed these votes with facility : see them in print.

In The Members had been locked into the House of Commons from before nine of the clock in the morning to seven at night, and then the doors were unlocked, and what Members would, were enlarged.

Obtained.

66.
The four Bills
for no addres-
ses nor applica-
tions passed.

67.
The Com-
mittee of Safety
revived and
enlarged.

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ferred to go forth, whereby many Presbyterians thinking the House had been upon rising departed ; when presently (the House being grown thin) the Vote to revive the Committee of both Kingdoms called the Committee of Safety at Darby House, passed by Ordinance dated 3. Janu. 1647. in these words : *Resolved, &c. That the powers formerly granted by both Houses to the Committee of both Kingdome, (viz. England and Scotland) in relation to the two Kingdomes of England and Ireland, be now granted and vested in the Members of both Houses only that are of that Committee, with power to them alone, to put the same in execution.* The originall Ordinance that first erected this Committee, and to which this said Ordinance relates, beareth date 7. Feb. 1643. in which the English Committees were appointed from time to time, to propound to the Scottish Commissioners whatsoever they should receive in charge from both Houses, and to make report to both Houses, to direct the managing of the War, and to keep good correspondence with forain States, and to receive directions from time to time from both Houses ; and to continue for three moneths and no longer. But this Ordinance 3 Janu. 1647. vests the said powers in the Members thereof only, and alone : words excluding the two Houses : and for a time indefinite. There were then added to this Committee, Nathaniel Fiennes, in place of Sir Phil. Stapleton ; Sir John Evelyn Junior, in place of Mr. Recorder ; and the Earl of Kent, instead of the Earl of Essex. 22. Janu. following the Lords sent down a Message for a farther power to this Committee, which was granted in these words : *Power to supprese Tumults and Insurrections in England, &c. and at Barwick, and for that purpose the Committee to have power to give orders and directions to all the Militia and forces of the Kingdome.* The addition of four Lords and eight Commoners likewise to this Committee was desired, but denied.

The Members of this Committee are now :
 The Earl of Northumber-
 land. Ro. Earl of
 Warwick.
 The E. of Kent.
 Edw: Earl of
 Manchester.
 Will. Lord Say
 & Scal. Phil. L.
 Wharten. John
 Lord Roberts.
 Will. Pierre-
 poynt. Sir Henry Vane sen. Sir Gilbert Gerrarde. Sir Will. Armine. Sir Arthur Haslerig.
 Sir Hen. Vane, Jun. John Crew. Rob. Wallope. Oliver St. Johns Sol. Oliver Cromwell. Samu. Browne. Nath. Fiennes. Sir John Evelyn, junior.

68. Friday 14 Janu. after a long debate it was ordered that Sir White-Hall and Lewis Dives, Sir John Stowell, and David Jenkins, be tryed as Traitors at the Kings Bench : the Grand Jury had found the Bill against Jenkins. Master Solicitor, &c. appointed to manage the business,

businesse,* but Jenkins is so great a Lawyer, that the Solicitor See Judge Jenkins Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of Par. 21. Feb. 1647.
durst not venture upon him, the long sword being more powerfull in his mouth then the Law; wherefore the Solicitor found an Error in the Indictment, turned him back againe upon the House to be impeached before the Lords, to whose Jurisdiction he pleaded: so the Solicitor put the affront from himself upon the

Houses. It was now 12. of the clock, and many of the Independent party began to cry, Rise, rise; The Presbyterians thinking all had been done: many went to dinner, yet the Independents fate still: and finding the House for their turne, moved, That a Letter might be forthwith sent to Sir Tho: Fairfax, to send a convenient number to Garrison White-Hall; and a party of Horse to quarter in the Mewes. The Lords concurrence was not desired to this Vote, but the Letters immediately drawn and sent.

Observe that before this Vote passed, diverse forces were upon their March towards the Towne, and came to White-Hall Saterday following by eight of the Clock in the morning.

Saterday, 15. Janu. The Army sent a Declaration to the House of Commons, Thanking them for their 4 Votes against the King, and promising to live and die with the Commons, in defence of them against all opponents. Many of the Lords had argued very hotly against the said 4 Votes, insomuch that it was ten Lords to ten; but this engagement of the Army, and the unexpected garrisoning of White-Hall and the Mewes, turned the scales: so that they passed the said 4 Votes, only adding a short preamble the 4 Votes (little to the purpose) holding forth some reasons for passing them, to which the Commons, when they came down, assented. When presently (about 12. of the clock the House being thin) Dennis Bond moved, That whosoever should act against those 4 Votes, or incite others to act against them, should be imprisoned and sequestred.

Three or four dayes after the Lords had passed the said 4 Votes, the Army vouchsafed to spit thanks in their mouths, and make much of them. These 4 Votes were generally sinisterly taken, and filled mens mindes with suspicion, what forme of government the Grandees would set up; now they had laid by the King; and every mans minde presaged a new War; which they conceived the Independent Grandees were willing to have, to colour their

69. The Armies Declaration thanking the Commons for their 4 Votes.

70. The Lords passe

71. The Army thanks the Lords.

keeping up this Army, and raising money to maintaine them : and every man began to lay the project of a new War at their door : notwithstanding (by way of prevention) they had impeached divers Members and Citizens of London, for endeavouring a new Warre when they did but raise men for their selfe-defence.

72.

The Declaration against the King.

To shew the people therefore, the reasons of these 4 Votes, the Independent Grandees appointed a Committee to search into the Kings Conversation, & errors of his Government, & publish them in a Declaration to the world : wherein they objected many high crimes against Him, concerning His Fathers death, the losse of Rochedale, and the Massacre and Rebellion in Ireland : which upon debate in the House, were very much moderated by the Presbyterians : of which Declaration I will only say, That they have set forth no new matter therein, which they have not formerly published in parcells : since which time they have taken and caused others to take the Nationall Covenant ; whereby they vow to maintaine the Kings Person, Crown and Dignity, in defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties : and therefore to reprint only the same things as Arguments to lay by the King, favours more of designe, then justice. I will wade no farther in the censure of the said Declaration, lest I imitate the Authors of it : and as they by a feeble accusation have done the King much right, so I by a weak defence should doe him much wrong. The people were as ill satisfied with this Declaration as with the four Votes, where-

73.

Thos: Haſterig's Letter concer-
ning the King.

Letter out of Leicestershire from Thomas Haſterig,
(brother to Sir Arthur) which was read to this purpose, That there was one Mr. Smalling a Committee-man of Leicestershire, who had been a Deputy-examiner in the Star-chamber, and affirmed, that above twenty years since there being a suit in Star-chamber betwix the Earle of Brougham complainant, and the Duke of Buckingham defendant, concerning Physick presumptuously administered by the said Duke to K. James, the said Smalling took many depositions therein, and was farther proceeding in the Examinations, untill a Warrant signed by the King was brought him, commanding him to surcease and go send him the Depositions already taken, which Smalling did : yet kepe notes by him

of the principall passages, doubting what farther proceedings might be hereafter, in a businesse of such importance. Sir Henry Mildmay moved that Smalling be sent for and examined upon oath by the Committee that penned the said Declaration : but upon motion of the Presbyterians, he was ordered to be examined at the Commons Bar. Smalling came, produced the Warrant, but no notes : so this *Chimera* vanished. What the said Committee would have made of this, who knows ? God blesse us all from clandestine examinations, especially when they are taken by parties preengaged. 3. *Caroli* this businesse had been ventilated and examined against the Duke, and no mention made of poysoning or killing K. James, It was then only called an *A&T of high presumption and dangerous consequence in the Duke* : nor was there then the least reflection upon K. Charles; yet now because K. Charles dissolved that Parliament, the Independent party were willing to raise a suspition against him concerning his Fathers death : whereas the Accusation against the Duke of Buckingham 3 *Caroli* contained seven or eight Charges against him, the least whereof might occasion the dissolving of that Parliament.

These desperate courses (to dishonour the King and make him incapable of Government, to ruine his Person, Crown, and Dignity, and extirpate Monarchy root and branch) were taken in order to the *insuring of the Kingly power into the Grandees of the Parliament and Army*, and in case they could not purge the two Houses and make them wholly Independent, (which they now despair of) then into the hands of the Committee, or Councell of State at Derby House, and *Grandees of the Army*. In order to which, they are now contriving to strengthen the said Committee with more power and more Members, and to adjourn the Parliament and send downe the Presbyterian Members into the Country upon pretence of service, where if any Tumults happen (for which their extortions will give sufficient provocation) the said dissenting Members shall bear the blame ; and have Blanck Impeachments given them to purge them out of the Houses, if not out of the world; or at least be sequestred : for now they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party by Sequestrations, the next fuel to their covetousnesse is to sequester the *Presbyterians*; and then to sequester one another : for they are already divided.

74.
Why the Independents went so high against the King :
To usurp the Regall power into themselves either in the Houses purging : or in the Committee of safety at Derby house.

vided into pure *Independents* and mixed *Independents*, and have feuds amongst themselves, for this Faction; (infatiate with money and blood) are all beasts of prey, and when they want prey, will prey upon one another: nor shall the Houses meet above one Month or two in a Year to ratifie and approve what *Derby house* and the *Funto* of the Army shall dictate to them: and to give an Account to the domineering party how each Member hath carried himself in the Country: Thus in stead of one *King*, we shall have twenty or thirty *Tyrants* in chief, and as many subordinate *Tyrants* as they please to employ under them, with the Iron yoak of an Army to hold us in subjection to their Arbitrary Government.

75.

Why the Grandees doe still continue to truck with the King: notwithstanding the said 4 Votes.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid four Votes and Resolutions, the Caball of *Grandees* still keep *Ashburnham* and *Barkley* in the Army, and have sent diverse *turn-coat-Cavaleers*, and *Emissaries* underhand disguised to the *King*, who pretending that by *Bribes* they have bought their admission to him, after some insinuations endeavour with false and deceitfull newes and arguments to shake his constancy: and perswade him to passe the said 4. *debronning Bills*; (for these usurpers of *Sovereign Authority* long to turne their Armed and violent *Tyrannie* into a legall *Tyrannie*) or (at least) to make him declare against the *Scots* comming in. In both which cases he will dishearten his friends, who endeavour to take the golden reines of Government out of the gripes of these *Phætions*, and restore them againe to his hand, un-king himself and his posterity for ever, be carryed up and down like a stalking horse to their designes, and be Crowned *Ludibrio Corona*, with straw or thornes. For who can think that at the end of 20 yeares, these Usurpers will lay down what they have so unjustly contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane, and contrary to their owne *Declarations, Oaths and Covenants* extorted? and who can or dare wrest those powers out of their hands, being once settled and grown customary in them: the peoples spirits broken with an habituall servitude; a numerous Army and Garrisons hovering over them; and all places of Judicature filled with corrupt Judges; who shall by constrained interpretations of the Law, force bloudy presidents out of them, against whosoever shall dare to be so good a Patriot as to oppose their *Tyrannie*? They that

that could make steel sharp enough to cut Captain Barlyes throat for attempting to rescue the King out of the hands of a *rebellious Army* that neither *obeys King nor Parliament*, will find gold and silver enough to corrupt all the *Judges*, they mean to prefer and make them *wyld and vilde* enough for their purposes. But it is hoped he hath more of King, more of man in him then to lose his principles, and stumble againe at the same stone, dash againe upon the same rock, whatsoever Syrens sing upon it ; knowing he hath a Son at liberty to revenge his wrongs, all the Princes of Christendome his Allyes, whose common cause is controverted in his sufferings, the greatest men of *England* and *Scotland* of his bloud, and the people generally (whose farthest designe was to preserve their Lawes and Liberties, and to defend the Parliament from being conquered by the Sword) looking with an angry aspect upon these Seducers, who by insensible degrees and many forgeries have engaged them farther then they intended, not to the defence of *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, but to the setting up of *Schisme, Committee law, and Martiall law, Impeachments before the Lords, and unlimited slavery.*

And I am confident this Faction despaire of working upon the King, who like a rock *in mediis tutissimus undis*, whatsoever reports they give out to the contrary, having from the beginning made *lies* their refuge, which being wisely foreseen by the King, he sent a *Message* to both Housles, (by way of prevention) delivered in the painted Chamber by the Lord of *Lauderdale* one of the Scots Commissioners : consisting of three heads.

1. *That He was taken from Holdenby against His will.*
2. *That they should maintain the Honour and Priviledges of Parliament.*
3. *That they should believe no Message as coming from Him during His Restraint in the Army, but should only credit what they received from His own mouth.* These Grandees have cheated all the interests of the Kingdom, and have lately attempted the City again, and had the repulse. But the King is their old customer, and hath been often cheated by them, and having Him in strict custody, peradventure they may perswade Him it is for His Safety to be deceived once more : wherefore notwithstanding their many endeavours to root up *Monarchy*, dethrone the King, and his Power,

sterity, and usurp His power : in order to which, they have overwhelmed Him, and all His, with innumerable calamities and reproaches) yet since the passing of the Declaration against the King, their desperate condition hath enforced them to make new addresses in private to Him : notwithstanding their four Votes inflicting the penalty of Treason upon the infringers. But Treason is as naturall to *Cromwell* as false-accusing, protesting and lying : he is so superlative a Traytor, that the Laws can lay no hold of him. Lieut. Col. *Lylborne*, in a verball Charge delivered at the Commons Bar, accused him of many Treasonable acts, which he avoweth to make good : and in his Book, called, *A Plea for a Habeas Corpus* : But as if *Cromwell* were a Traytor *cum privilegio*, the House of Commons (being under his armed Guards) dares take no notice of it. But the Roman Tribune said to *Scipio Africanus*, in *Livy*, *Qui jus aquam ferre non potest, in eum vim hand injustum fore*, He that exalts himself above the law, ought not to be protected by the law.

To conclude, *Cromwell* hath lately had private conference at *Farnham* with *Hammond*.

The Earle of *Southampton* hath been courted to negotiate with the King, and offered the two Speakers hands for his warrant.

Capt. Titus taken into favour, and employed that way.

These Grandees have brought themselves into a mist, and now wander from one foolish designe to another.

The Spaniard is said to forecast in his debates, what will happen forty years after. But these purblind Politicians doe not foresee the event of their Councils forty daies, nay hours beforehand ; but it is a curse laid upon wicked men, to grope at noone day.

About the 5. or 6. of Jan. 1647. the Scots Commissioners had written certaine Letters to the House of Commons ; one whereof repeating the four Votes against the King ; propounded to know, whether the Houses by their Votes, That no person whatsoever do presume to make or receive any Application or address to, or from the King ; would debar the Scots to make or receive any Addresses to or from him, and so put an incapacity upon Him to performe Acts of Government towards them. In the debate, the Independent called to mind a more ancient Vote, whereby it was ordered, That the Scots might be admitted to the King. Against which, was alleged, That these

76.
Debates in the
House of
Commons up-
on the Scots
Letters.

1. Concerning
the said four
Votes.

these latter Votes being generall, without exception, Repealed that former Vote. At last by an interpretative Vote, it was concluded, That notwithstanding the said four latter Votes: the former Vote, That the Scots Commissioners might make Addresses to the King, was still in force. Observe that this was done four or five daies after the Scots Commissioners were on their way towards Scotland.

The second Letter was concerning 100000l. due by contract to 2. Concerning the Scots from the Parliament, whereof 50000l. was payable by as-^{100000l. due} signement to divers Scots Gentlemen who had advanced money to hasten the Scots Army to our Relief; whereof 10000l. was payable to the Earle of Argyle.

Sir Henry Mildmay made a long Speech in praise of Argyle, saying, That he and his party, and the Scottish Clergy were the onely men that upheld the English interest in Scotland, and were better friends to us then all Scotland besides: wherefore he moved that Argyle might be payed his 10000l. and the rest continued at Interest at 8l. per cent. Presently the whole Independent gang, with much zeale and little discretion, ran that way, untill more moderate men stopping them in full cry, minded them what dishonour and danger they might bring their friends into by laying him open to suspition.

After this, it was Resolved to send four Comons, and two Lords into Scotland as Commissioners, with Instructions: to send all Six Commissioners sent in- Independents would not be acceptable; Two Presbyterians Com- moners therefore were sent, one whereof was sweetned with the guift of 1000l. and an Office before they would trust him: with them were sent Mr. Hearle and Mr. Marshall.

77.

Marshall, when he saw Independency preuale, had secretly turned his coat the wrong side outward, and joyned interell with M. Marshall.^{78.} Mr. Nye. But before he declared himself, he was to do some service for his new party: Wherefore when the Army looked with a threatening posture upon the Parliament and City, before they marched through London, (the common Souldiers being in such discontent for want of pay that they were ready to mutiny and disband, and their Officers scarce daring to governe them) the first fruits of Marshall's service to his new friends was to persuade the City to lend the Parliament 50000l. to pacifie the

The History of Independency.

Souldiers : assuring them by Letters that the Army had nothing but good thoughts towards the City, onely the common Souldiers was troubled for want of pay : after the City had laid down the said 50000l. his next labour was, to perswade the Citizens to let the Army march through the City without opposition for avoiding of bloudshed and firing : and to let them posseße the Tower, and Line of Communication. After these services, the Grandees of the Parliament and Army, finding him suitable to them, received him into an avowed favour ; and then four *Independents*, and four *Presbyterian Divines* (conjoyning their interefts) were sent to season the Army, and new tune them according to the more moderne designe : *Marshall* was one ; where, after he had preached according to the Dictates of the Grandees of the two Houses and Army for divers weeks, *Marshall* was thought fit to attend the Commissioners into *Scotland* : He and Mr. *Nye* had been sent to *Carisbrooke Castle* formerly with those Commissioners that carried the four Bills to the King, and had 500l. apiece given them for their journey.

Scotland, a longer journey, promised a larger reward : it is good being a postilion of the Gospel at such rates.

The Sunday before he went, he preached at *Margarets Westminster*, and as much cried up Presbytery and the Covenant there, as he had before slighted them in the Army. This was a *preparation Sermon* to make him acceptable to the Scots, that he might cajole them the easier. Before he went he sent his Agents from house to house at *Westminster* to beg mens good wills towards his journey. He was willing upon this pretence to get what he could from St. *Margarets* Parish, where he found the people to grow cold in their affections and contributions to him. Wherefore having made his bargain before he went, to leave S. *Margarets*, and officiate in the *Abby*, where he is to have 300l. per annum certain allowance, he would rob the *Egyptians* at S. *Margarets* for a parting blow. This Priest married his owne Daughter with the Book of *Common prayer* and a *Ring*, and gave for reason, That the Statute establishing that *Liturgy* was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his Daughter whored, and turned back upon him for want of a Legall Marriage: yet he can declare against all use of it by others. He hath so long cursed *Meroz* and neutrality, that he hath

hath brought Gods curse upon the land : and hath put Church and Common-wealth into a flame, but himself and his Brats have warmed their fingers at it : as monies are decried or enhanced by the Kings authority, so is every mans Religion cried up or down by Marshall's authority and stamp.

About the 24. Feb. the *Answer to the Scots Declaration* began to be debated in parts : in which Debate the Covenant was much undervalued, and called an *Almanack out of Date*. Nath: Fiennes argued against it, That that clause in the Covenant, [To defend the Kings Person, Crown, and Dignity, &c.] was inconsistent with their four Votes, for making no Addresses to the King : To which was answered by some, That then they would relinquish the four Votes and adhere to the Covenant.

About the beginning of March, was given to Col. Sydenham and Col. Bingham 1000l. apiece, as part of their Arrears: their Accounts not yet stated. To the Lord of Broghill 2000l. To Master Fenwicke 50cl. for losses. To Mr. Millington 2000l. for losses. To Col. Ven 4000l. notwithstanding it was moved he might first account for Contribution-money, the Plunder of the Country about Windsor, and the Kings Household-stuffe, Hangings, Linen, and Bedding. Mr. Pury the Petty-bag Office, besides 1000l. formerly given him. To Pury's Son, the Clerke of the Peers place, and 100l. a yeare : all *Independents*.

The 7. of March, an Ordinance passed the Commons to settle 2500l. a year land, out of the Marquesse of Worcester's Estate, upon Lieutenant Generall Oliver Cromwell. I have heard some Gentlemen, that know the Mannor of Chepstow, and the rest of the Lands settled upon him, affirm, That in the particulars the said Lands are so favourably rated, that they are worth 5000l. or 6000l. a year : It is farther said those Lands are bravely wooded. You see though they have not made King Charles, a glorious King, as they promised : yet they have settled a crowne Revenue upon Oliver, and have made him as great and glorious a king as ever John of Leyden was. Wonder not that they conspire to keep up this Army, as well to make good these Largeesses, as to keep their guilty Heads upon their shoulders.

Thursday, 9. March, the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, To desire their concurrence to the Engagement of those

79.
The Answer to
the Scots De-
claration.

80.
Mony shared
amongst godly
Members.

81.
Cromwell.

82.
A Message
from the
Lords, desiring
the Commons
concurrence to
the engagement
of the Mem-
bers with the
Army.

The engagement approved by Threats. Members that fled to the Army, to live and die with the Army. It was Debated all day, untill seven of the clock at night ; and at last the question put, That this House doth approve the subscription of the said Members to the said Ingagement. The House divided upon the question, yeas 100. noes 91. Observe 1. that Mr. Solicitor, Haslerig, and many more, when they perceived difficulty in passing it, began to skirmish with their long sword againe. And many told them, they must give content without dores (meaning, to the Army) as well as within, or else all would go naught. 2. Of those Members that engaged with the Army sate in the House, and voted in their owne case ; many of them carrying themselves very high and insolently in their gestures and expressions. 3. Many Presbyterians left the House because it was late, and some (as it is thought) not daring to vote in the negative. 4. This engagement about six Months agoe had been sent to the Commons by the Lords once or twice, and was rejected ; yet now was obtruded upon them again by the Lords, who would not acquiesce ; contrary to the Priviledges of the House of Commons. 5. This approbation thus surreptitiously gotten, is equall to a Pardon sued forth before conviction, which in law amounteth to a confession of the crime. 6. The Agitators tell you in Derby-house projects, p.7.

83. The temper of the House tri-
ed, had the en-
gagement not
been approved,
from the Army
of Commons is no longer theirs then they over-awe them, and that they
fear the Criticall day will come which will discover the Parliament to
be no longer theirs then while they have a force upon it.

As men ready to sinke, embrace every shadow of help, and catch hold of leaves, twigs, and bulrushes, to support them : so these desperate and purblind Projectors, having engaged themselves in a way of Tyranny, out of which, they can find no issue ; lay hold of frivolous inventions to peer up from time to time their ill laid designes, like the man in the parable that patched up his old Garment with new cloth, which breaking out again left the rent wider then it was before.

Their last project was to unite all interests in the Houses, City and

84.
A project to
unite all In-
terests.

and Army: To which purpose Cromwell (the heaviest, basest and most ridiculous Tyrant that ever our noble Nation groaned under) made a Speech in the House of Commons: to which was answered, *That the Members were chosen and trusted by the people to pursue on common interest, which was, the common good, the Safety and Liberty of the people: and whosoever had any peculiar interest eccentric from that, was not fit to sit in that Assembly, and deserved to be called to a strict account by those that trusted him.*

Observe that the extent of this project was to conjoyn these three interests for upholding the greatnesse of the Grandees, in the Parliament, City, and Army; for in all three the vulgar multitude, and the more modest and honest sort, are but in the same condition with other men: The Parliament bearing the Authority, the Army the Sword, and the City the Purse.

The first shall be the Task-masters, and impose Tribute.

The second, the Sheriffs, or rather Free-booters, and leavy it by distresse.

And the third, the Brokers to receive it, and buy it off.

But it pleased God to bestow so much providence and integrity upon the City, that when upon Saterday, 8. April, 1648. Cromwell and his fellow Grandees offered this temptation (at a Common Councell) to them;

The City grew wiser then our first Parents, and rejected the Serpent and his subtleties, in so much that Cromwell netted with the affront, called his Solicitor Glover to account by what authority he had offered the restitution of their Tower and Militia, and the enlargment of their accused Aldermen: who answered, he did it by his authority, &c delivered him a Warrant to that purpose signed by Sir Tho: Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, Mr. Solicitor, and young Sir Henry Vane: which Cromwell had the impudence to put in his pocket.

Cromwell had felt the pulse of the City long before by his Agents Glover and Watkins, and found them averse from complying with him: wherefore (being a man of an early as well as an implacable malice) he (by advice of the Committee of Derby-house) cast about with the schismatical Lord Mayor Warner, (he that raised the ridiculous Tumult at Christmas about Rosemary and Bayes: a man that had been chosen Mayor by power of Parliament

A device to put
the Apprenti-
ces into a Tu-
mult.

The History of Independency.

liament (out of course) to carry on the designe of the Faction) and with the Lieutenant of the Tower how to put the City into some distemper, of which they might take advantage. The Citizens were well acquainted with their jugling tricks, they had no hopes to work upon them: wherefore they contrived how to put a provocation upon the silly Apprentice Boyes, and put them forth into some rash action, of which they might make use to carry on their designes against the whole City: wherefore upon Easter-day, 1647. in the evening some few Apprentices playing in *Finnisbury fields*, some Souldiers were sent to drive them away; which they did, and imprisoned some of them for not readily obeying: Upon Sunday following, 9. April, divers Apprentices being at play (according to custome) in *Moore fields*, the Mayor sent Captaine *Gale* (one of the new Captains of the Hamlets, a Silke-Throster and a Tub-preacher, and one that ran away at the Fight at *Newbury-wash*, and hid himself in a Ditch, as my L. *Wharton* at the Battle of *Keynton* hid himself in a Saw-pit) thither to disturbe them, with about 50. or 60. of his Trained-Band and no more (that he might the better encourage the Boyes to resist him) who surlily asking them *what they did there*; some of them answered, *they did no harm but only play, and since all Holydaies have been Voted down they had no other time of recreation*: The Captain insolently commanded them to be gone: they replied, *he had no authority so to doe*, and continued playing: whereupon the Captain commanded his Musquetiers to *shoot amongst them*; which they forbearing, he took a Musquet himself, and discharged amongst them, when presently two or three schismatycall Musquetiers of his Company following his example discharged upon them likewise, and killed (or as the Schismaticks say, wounded onely) one of the Boyes: whereat the Boyes making a great out-cry, more company gathered to them, and so with stones, Brick-bats, and sticks they dispersed the Trained Bands: and at last, got their Colours, and instantly in a childish jollity marched (unarmed as they were) towards the *Mewes*, when presently a party of Horse (ready prepared for this fore-laid designe) met them, charged and with ease routed them, *Cromwell* himselfe animating the Trouopers to *shoot and spit them, and to spare neither man, woman, nor child*. All Sonday night the Apprentices kept in a body in the City,

City, locked the City gates, but set no Guards upon them ; whereby you may see this businesse proceeded meerly from the rash and un-premeditated folly of Children, not from the advice of men : howsoeuer the Independent faction in the *House of Comons* have since aggravated it, to countenance their future cruelty and rapines upon the City : Monday morning Sir Tho: Fairfax sent a strong party into the City, who fel upon this boyish rabble, routed and killed many, and shot poor Women great with child, sitting in their stalls, one whereof the child lived two howers in her belly after her braines were shot out : a man likewise not knowing of their comming, as he was drinking milke at the corner of a street, was shot (as it were) in sport : as they rid, they cried, *Cuckolds keep your houses*, cutting and wounding all they met ; Cromwell (who followed in the Reare safe enough, the Van having cleared the streets before him) crying out to them *to fire the City*. Oh Oliver ! what a barbarous *John of Leyden* art thou become ? Oh London ! how wretched a *Manster* wilt thou become ? at last they drove those silly unarmed wretches into *Leaden hall*, and took many of them Prisoners, none of the Trained Bands nor Citizens appearing to help these poor Boyes, but leaving the Souldiers to get as bloudy and as boyish a Triumph over them, as they pleased, they are now imprisoned in *Cromwell's shambles* at *White Hall*. This is the truth of the businesse, notwithstanding the long-winded lying report made by Alderman Fonkes, at the Commons Bar : a man that hath feathered his nest well these miserable times, and hath much publike money sticking to his fingers ; who when he gave in his Accompt before the generall Committee of Accounts, refused to give it in upon Oath (as other men did) alleging *Magna Charta*, that no man was bound to accuse himself : It should seem he had something in his Conscience that would not endure the Test of an Oath : But he is one of the Godly, and therefore the good things of this world belong unto him. The House of Commons (upon this occasion) gave 1000l. to the Souldiers for this valorous exploit, and voted 1000. Foot, and 100. Horse to be kept in the Tower. The Garrisons of *White Hall* and the Menes to be strengthned : three Barges capable of 50. Musquetiers a piece to lie at *White Hall* for the Souldiers to convey themselves to any landing place to disperse such Water-men as shall assemble :

assemble : The City Chaines to be taken away from their posts, and a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to Issue forth to murder more of these Children legally. The Major having kindled this fire in the City, stole out at a window disguised, and hid his foolish head in the Tower. The House of Commons (over-ruled by the *Grandeys*) Voted a day of Thanks-giving for this Delivery. So bold are these Saints, as to mock Gods holy Name with impious devotions to colour their designes.

86. The Lord *Inchiquin*, president of *Munster*, and Generall of the Army there, had a long time been heaved at by the *Independent* faction. The Lord *Lystle*, (who gaped after his imployment) Sir *John Temple*, *Cromwell*, the Lord *Broughill*, Sir *Arthur*, and Sir *Adam Loftus*, and others : who by obstructing all supplies of Money, Ammunition, Victuall, Cloathes ; laboured to mutiny and disband his Army, that they might send Schismaticks of their owne party to Lord it there, as they doe here, and keep *Ireland* as a Retreat for the Saints : for the better effecting whereof, they had sent over many emissaries, whom they had commended to him, to be officers in his Army. When this would not doe, they printed Scandalous Articles against him, & put infinite provocations upon him to incite him to doe that which they falsly accused him to have done already : But the many gallant seruices he performed since the publishing those Articles, gave them the lie, and confuted all their slanders ; at last (under colour of sending a supply of forces to him) they projected to surprize him, and bring him away prisoner : So that he hath suffered all the convulsions that treacherous friends, and malicious enemies could put upon him. And lately (for the more close conveiance of the designe) the Houses sent three Commissioners towards *Ireland* ; to survay his actions : but (as if it were purposely done) when the Commissioners came as far on their way as *Bristol*, about a dozen renegado Officers of his Army met the Commissioners and turned them back againe. The said Officers posted up to the Parliament before the Commissioners, & the 13. *Apriall* were called in to the Commons Barre, where they made a relation to the House, to this purpose : That the Lord *Inchiquin* having made an expedition into the County of *Kerry*, upon his returne, sent for these Officers into his presence Chamber, and told them,

them, He intended to declare against the Army and Independent party in England, who kept the King and Parliament under a force : That he would stand for the liberty of the King and Parliament, and a free conference to settle Peace ; and that he expected all his Officers should joyne with him in so honourable an undertaking ; but should take an Oath of secerse, before he discovered himselfe farther to them. They answered, They could take no such Oath before they knew whether they might with a safe Conscience keep it : saying, they would be true to the Parliament. My Lord Inchiquin replied ; So have I, and will be ; delude me not with ambiguous words. Doe you mean this pretended Parliament ? telling them farther, he had good correspondence with all the Presbyterians in Scotland and England, as well in the Parliament, as out of it ; that he doubted not to goe through with his undertaking ; and if the worst hapned, to make good conditions for himself and his party. That he would make peace with the Lord Taffe, and that he knew the Independents in England were upon treaty with Owen, Roe, Oneal, who was a man of their humour, and loved to keep all in a combustion. They refusing to joyne, he dismissed them for England. The same day Letters from Captaine John Crowther, Vice-admirall of the Irish Seas from a Ship-board, were read in the House, much to the same purpose, though not so large : wherein he said, he had already blocked up all my Lord Inchiquines Havens.

Presently Allen the Goldsmith moved, That since the Lord Inchiquine had discovered that he had a correspondency with the Presbyterians in the Houfe, before they dealt with their Enemies without doores, they should try who were their enemies within doors, by putting all men to some Covenant, Engagement, or Protestation, &c. and Lieutenant Generall Cromwell said , That being to debate this busynesse to morrow, whosoever with crosse Arguments shall spin out the debate, and so retard our proceedings, (by my consent) shall be noted with a black coale: to which was Answered, That this tended to take away freedome of debate, which was the life of Parliaments and of all Councells : and was destructive to the very being of Parliaments. (It is not amisse to insert here by way of digression, what I formerly omitted) Sir Henry Mildmay long since moved, That 150. rich Guard-Coates of the Kings, might be sold for 800.l. to finde fire and

*Allen the Goldsmith, moveth :
House to the touch, by some
Covenant Declaration.*

candle for the Souldiers in *White-Hall*. The Question put : The Speaker gave judgement, the *Yea*s, had it. Master *Edw. Stephens* declared the *Noes*, had it. They were unwilling to divide upon such a Question : But *M. Stephens* persisted ; and *Robert Reynolds* said aloud, *notice shall be taken of him, for putting such a dishonour upon the House*. Upon the Division, the *Noes* carried it by nine voices. Thereupon complaints was made against *Reynolds*, for attempting against the liberty of Voting, but no redresse. But to returne from my digression. The next day 14 of *Apriill*, it was moved, that my Lord *Inchiquins* son, a child of 8 or 9 years old, going to Schoole at *Thistleworth*, might be secured in the *Tower*, and kept for an Hostage. To which was Answered, That no man could give an Hostage. An Hostage must be given upon the publick faith, upon some stipulation, and must be so received, by mutuall agreement, you cannot punish the Child for the Fathers fault ; yet he was Voted to the *Tower*, and sent. My Lord *Inchiquins* Commission as president of *Munster*, and Generall of the Army, Voted voide, and no man to obey him, himselfe Voted a Traitor : Yet no man examined upon Oath against him, nor any man sent to take information of the businesse into *Ireland*, and his professed enemy the Lord *Lise* is to goe Generall into *Munster* in his roome ; and the said fugitive Officers all rewarded, as if they had brought acceptable newes. This day *Reynolds* revived *Allens* motion for putting the Members to the Test, by some Covenant, Protestation, or Declaration subscribed, That this is a free Parliament, and that they would live and die with this Parliament and Army : To which was Answered. 1. That by Ordinance of both Houses, all men were enjoyned to take the Nationall Covenant. This Covenant is the true Touch-stone of the Parliament, and so agreed upon by the wisdome of both Nations : Yet many sit here who refuse to obey this Ordinance : I know no reason therefore, why any man should obey you in any other Ordinance of this nature : let us keep the old Covenant before we take any new. 2. It hath been moved in this House, that the Oathes of Justices of the Peace and Sheriffes, might be taken away : I hope you will not abolish legall Oathes, and impose illegall Oathes. This House hath not so much Authority, as to administer an Oath, much more to impose one : you must allow to others

others that liberty of Conscience which you demand for your selves. 3. Major Gray told you, my Lord Inchiquine said he had correspondency with all the Presbyterians in the House, who had made their peace with the King. But my Lord Inchiquine told him farther, the Independents were upon Treaty with Owen, Roe, Oneal, let them clear themselves of that imputation first, before they give a purgation unto others, otherwise what you doe, will favour of force. 4. The true Touch-stone to try every mans integrity is, To examine, who have inriched themselves by the calamities of the times and your service: and who are impoverished. 5. This is a new device to Purge the House.

The Grandees of the House have cantonized the Kingdome between, them every man in his division protecting the Country Committees, and receiving tribute from them in recompence of their protection; and Prideaux the Postmaster being king of the West Saxons, his Viceroy or Lord Deputy for the County of Somerset is that running Colonel John Pyne, who being often inspired with Sack, rules the Committee and County by inspiration.

Pyne and his Peers of the Committee, to please his Superiours, set on foot a draught of a Petition to be handed by the Country: Giving thanks to the Parliament for their 4 Votes against the King, and promised to live and die with the Parliament and Army, and desired the County might be freed from Malignants, Neuters, and Apostates; which (in their interpretation) signifies Presbyterians and moderate men, who will not daunce about the flame when the Independents make a bonfire of the Common-wealth. The Easterne Division of Somerset-shire rejected the Petition: in the Westerne Division Pyne and his Committee sending abroad their Sequestrators, with the Petition, (and threatening to take them for Malignants and sequester them that refused) got many subscriptions; but the Subscribers since better enformed of the danger and mischief of those Votes, retracted what they had done by a counter Petition, wherein they declared that their Subscription to the former Petition was contrary to their judgment and conscience, and extorted by terror of Sequestrators, and threats of being sequestred. This affront stung the Committee, and opened the eyes of the Country: as the like foolish attempt of Sr H. Mildmay did the eyes of the County of Essex. Wherefore to find a playster

88.

The Counties compelled to give thanks to the Houses for their Votes against the King.

for this broken pate, Sergeant *Wylde* (he that hanged Capt. *Burly*) comming that Circuit, care was taken to have a selected Grand Jury of Schismaticks and Sequestrators blended together, who made a presentment subscribed by 19. of their hands, which Sergeant *Wylde* preserved in his pocket; and upon Tuesday 18. April delivered with as much gravity as a set speech and set ruffe could furnish him withall in the House of Commons, and was read and hearkened unto by the thriving godly, with as much attention, as pricking up of ears, and turning up of eyes could demonstrate: the contents of this Presentment were the same with the aforesaid revoked Petition. Great care was taken to give thanks to the high Sheriffe and Grand Jury, who had so freely delivered the sense of that well-affected County: and as much care taken to improve this Talent and put it to interest throughout the Kingdome. Colonel *Purefoy* is now at this worke in *Warwick-shire*. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* about *Newcastle*: others in other places. Pitifull Crutches to support a crippled reputation, which now halts and begs for relief worse then their owne maymed Souldiers do, and with as bad successe; they have juggled themselves out of credit, and would fain juggle themselves in again. Behold the wildome of our *Grandees*, wise, religious, new-modelled Politicians, who have brought themselves and the whole Kingdome into these deplorable, contemptible straits; take notice of your Representative you that are *Represented*, call them to a *seasonable account*: But whither doth my zeale carry me? I shall anon stumble upon a new-fangled Treason to be declared against me.

89.

Mens tongues
tied up by an
Ordinance.

Friday, 21. April, an Ordinance was presented to the House, intituled, *For suppressing all Tumults and Insurrections*, (the Committee of Safety at *Darby house* had before an ample power conferred upon them for that purpose; but guilty consciences though they be safe, are never secure; like *Cain*, they think that every man will slay them) it was passed after some amendments to this purpose, *That any three Committee men shall have power to Imprison and Sequester all such as shall actually adhere to any that shall raise, or endeavour to raise Tumults and Insurrections, or shall speak or publish any thing reproachfull to the Parliament, or their proceedings*: Behold here an excise (amounting to the value of all you have) set upon every light word: A man made an offender for a word

to

to the utter ruine of him and his posterity, under colour of defending *Laws, Liberties, and Properties*, you are cheated of them all, and reduced to meer and absolute slavery and beggary: you are not masters of your own carkasses, yet your mouths are buttoned up, you must not be allowed that silly comfort of venting your griefs by way of complaint: what Tyrant was ever so barbarous, so indiscreet as to do the like? It was moved that Offenders of this kind might be bound to the good Behaviour, and the offence proved openly at the Assizes or Sessions, before so destructive a punishment be inflicted. There are three principles in law, of which the Laws are very tender, and will not suffer them to be touched but upon great offences, cleer proofs, and exact formalities observed; *life, liberty, and estate*, by *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and many other Statutes; these principles are so sacred, that nothing but the Law can meddle with them. *Nemo imprisonetur aut disseisetur nisi per legale judicium parium suorum*, you have made the people shed their money and bloud abundantly, pretending *defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, let them now at last (being a time of peace) enjoy what they have so dearly paid for; and delay them not with a pretended necessity of your owne making, you now make all that is, or can be neer and deer to them lyable to the passions of three Committee men to judge and execute according to their discretion without Law, or so much as a formality thereof: And yet both Houses of Parliament have often heretofore offered to abolish those Committees as men whose wickednesse and folly they and the whole Kingdome were ashamed of: The *Grandees* of the Parliament and Army when the Houses are called and full, have resolved to draw their Forces nearer about the Towne, and by that terroure to try the temper of the Houses; such Members as will not comply with them, they will with fresh Charges purge out of the Houses, and publish base and infamous scandalls against them, to which if they submit with silence, they betray their reputations for ever; and spare the credits of their juggling enemies. If they make any defence for their honours by way of apology, they shall be brought within the compasse of this devouring, enslaving Ordinance, *as men that reproach the Parliament and their proceedings*. Thus the same whip shall hang over the shoulders of the *Presbyterian*.

The History of Independency.

rian party (who wil not agree to King-deposing, Anarchy, & Schism) as it did formerly over the Kings party. And the Presbyterians shall be squeezed into the Independents coffers, as formerly the King's party were, so long as they had any thing to lose ; for the whole earth is little enough for these Saints, who are never satisfied with money and bloud, although they never looke towards Heaven but through the spectacles of this world. The old *elegium* and character of the English Nation was, that they were, *Hilaris gens, cui libera mens, & libera lingua*. But now (Country-men) your tongues are in the stocks, your bodies in every gaole, your souls in the darke, and estates in the mercy of those that have no mercy, and at the discretion of those that have no discretion : Farewell English Liberty.

93. General Con- clusions.

Out of these Premises I shall draw these Conclusions following :

1. The Grandees have subverted the fundamental Government of the Kingdome, and why.

I. **T**He engaged Party have laid the Axe to the very root of Monarchy and Parliaments : they have cast all the mysteries and secrets of Government, both by Kings and Parliaments, before the vulgar ; like pearle before swine : and have taught both the Souldierie and people to looke so far into them, as to ravell back all Governments, to the first principles of nature : he that shakes fundamentalls, means to take down the fabrick. Nor have they been carefull to save the materialls for posterity. What these negative Statists will set up in the room of these ruined buildings doth not appear ; only I will say, they have made the people thereby so curious and so arrogant, that they wil never find humility enough to submit to a Civil rule ; their ay me therefore from the beginning was to rule them by the power of the Sword, a military Aristocracy or Oligarchy, as now they do. Amongst the aincient Romans, *Tentare Arcana Imperii*, to profane the mysteries of State was Treason, because there can be no forme of Government without its proper mysteries : which are no longer mysteries then while they are concealed. Ignorance, and admiration arising from Ignorance, are the parents of civil devotion and obedience, though not of Theological.

2. They have sub-
verted the
Church.

2. Nor have these Grandees and their party in the Synode, dealt more kindly with the Church then with the Commonwealth :

wealth: whose reverend Mysteries; their Pulpits and holy Sacraments; and all the functions of the Ministry are by their connivence profaned by the clouted shooe; the basest and lowest of the people making themselves Priests: and with a blind distempered zeal Preaching such Doctrine as their private Spirits (spirits of illusion) dictate to them: But let them know, that their burning zeal without knowledge, is like hell-fire without light. Yet the greatest wonder of all is, That they suffer the Lords Supper (that Sacrament of Corroboration) to be so much neglected in almost all the Churches in the Kingdome. Is it because men usually before they receive our Saviour, (that blessed guest) sweep the house cleane, casting out of their hearts, (those living Temples of the holy Ghost) *Pride, Ambition, Covetousnesse, Envy, Hatred, Malice*, and all other unclean Spirits, to make fit roome to entertaine *Iesus*, that prince of peace: whereby the people having their minides prepared for *Peace, Charity, and Reconciliation*; may happily spoile the trade of our *Grandeys*, who can no longer maintaine their usurped dominion over them; then they can keep them disunited with quarrels and feudes; and uphold those Badges of factions, and tearmes of distinction and separation: *Cavaleers, Ronnd-heades, Malignants, Well-affected, Presbyterians and Independents?* or is it because they fear, if the Church were settled in peace & unity, it would be a means to unite the Common-wealth, as a quiet cheefull minde often cureth a distempered body? I will not take upon me to judge another mans servant; but many suspect this is done out of designe, not out of peevishnesse.

3. That these *Grandeys* governe by power, not by love, and the the Lawes of the Land, (which was my last assertion) appears by
 1. The many Garrisons they keep up, and numerous Army they keep in pay to over power the whole Kingdome, more then at first the Parliament Voted.
 2. Their compelling the Parliament to put the whole Militia of England and Ireland by Land & Sea, into the power of Sir *Thos Fairfax* and their party.
 3. Nor do they think the Laws of the Land extensive enough for their purposes, therefore they piece them out with Arbitrary Ordinances, Impeachments before the Lords, and Marshall Law, which is now grown to that height, that the Councell of War, Generall, and Judge Advocate of the Army doe usually send forth in writing

The Sacrament
of the Lords
Supper discon-
tinued, and
why?

3.
The *Grandeys*
rule by the ar-
bitrary power
of the Sword,
not by the
Lawes.

stractions to stay suites, and release judgements at Law, or else to attend the Councell of Warre, wheresoever they sit, to shew cause to the contrary: And when Lieut. Colonell Lyburne was ordered to be brought to the Kings Bench-Barre, upon his *habeas Corpus*, Easter Terme, 1648. Cromwell sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower not to bring him, and Cromwell was obeyed, not the Judges. Thus the Laws of the Land are daily baffled; that men may be accustomed to Arbitrary Government, and those actions which no Law of the Land calls a crime, may be interpreted Treason when our Grandees please to have it so.

2. Their allowing Money to some Committees to reward Informers, Spies, & Intelligeneers to betray even their nearest friends & relations.

3. Their holding Honest, Generous, and Grave men in suspicion, and making the Houses of Parliament and Army snares to them, expelling them with false and extra-judicall Accusations.

4. Their owning dishonest, base minded men, that have cheated the State, as instruments fit to be confided in, and associate with them in time of danger.

5. Their impoverishing the people with confused Taxes, decay of Trade, and obstructing of the mint, and thereby breaking their spirits.

6. Their changing and dividing the Militia of London purposely to weaken it.

7. Their not restoring to the Countries their Militia, and trufling them to defend their owne houses as formerly.

8. Their nourishing factions in the Common-wealth, Schismes in the Church.

9. Expelling learned Divines to let in ignorant men. All these are Tyrannicall policies grounded upon the old principle; That a Tyrant should deprive His Subjects of all things that may nourish courage, strength, knowledge, mutual confidence and charity amongst them; which Maxime the best Politicians say contains the whole Systeme or method of Tyrannicall Government.

10. As this encroaching faction have usurped all the Military and Civill power of both Kingdomes; so they have Monopolized all the great Offices, Rich imployments, and Treasure of the Land; They are clearly the predominant party in all money Committees; They give daily to one another for pretended Services, Auncraes, and Letters, great summes of money: Many of their largesse

gives I have already set down. They gave lately to Colonel Hammond Governor of the Isle of Wight, for his Table 20l. a week, 1000l. in money, and 500l. a year land ; to Major Gen. Skippon 1000l. per annū land of Inheritance ; to Col. Maitlen 500l. money. All the cheating covetous, ambitious persons of the land, are united together under the name and title of *The Godly, the Saints, &c.* and share the fat of the land between them, few of them pay any Taxes, but all the Land paies Tribute to them. It is thought this Faction, their under-Agents and Factors have cost this Commonwealth above 20 millions never laid forth in aby publike service. Nay, the Treasurers and Publicans of this Faction have clipped and washed most of the mony that comes into their fingers before they pay it forth, knowing that any mony that comes out of their fingers will be accepted ; two Gold-smiths are thought to be dealers this way, yet they lay the blame on the Scottish Army, as the Cuckow laies her brood in other nests.

5. Having thus imped their wings for flight, they have provided themselves of places of retreat in case they cannot make good their standing in England ; Ireland is kept unprovided for, that they may find roome in it when necessity drives them thither. If their hopes fail in Ireland, they have New-England, Bermudas, Barbados, the Caybi Isles, the Isle of Providence, Eleutheria, Lygonia, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the spoiles of England in : nay, they usually send chests and vessels with mony, plate, and goods beyond Sea, with Passes from the two Speakers, *To let them passe without searching* : the Navy is in their power to accommodate their flight, and by their Instruments called Spurr, they have taken up many Children and sent them before to be Slaves and drudges to the Godly in their schismatical Plantations : as the Turke takes up Tribune-children from the Christians to furnish his nursery of Janisaries : and so they have their Agents that buy up all the Gold they can get : Cromwell not long since offered 1100l. in silver for 1000l. in gold ; besides, he is well furnished with the Kings Jewels taken in his Cabinet at Nazeby, many of them known jewels, as the Harry, and the Elisabeth.

6. Nor shall the vulgar sort of Independents either in Parliament, Army, or City, fare better then the rest of the Kingdome. The Grandees both of Parliament and Army endeavouring to adjourn the Parliament, and draw all the power of both Houses in

5. The Independents provided of Places of retreat to flie to.

6. The vulgar Independents but props and properties to the Grandees.

to the Committee of Derby-house, consisting but of 20. or 30. the rest of the Independent Members will find their power dissolved in the adjournment; and swallowed up by that Committee, and their services forgotten: nor shall they have any power in the *Militia*, which is the only quarrell between them and the King: the *Grandees* disdaining to have so many Partners in that which they have got by their own wits; for know that the *Grandees* have alwaies been winnowing the Parliament. First, they winnowed out the moderate men under the notion of the *Kings party*; then the *Presbyterians*; and now they will winnow forth the lighter and more chaffy sort of *Independents*, who stand for the *Liberty of the people*; a thing which *Cromwell* now calleth, *a fancy not to be engag'd for*; and so they will bring all power into their own hands. Thus having contracted the *Parliament* into a *Committee of Safety*, they will adjourne themselves (though the *Parliament* cannot) to *Oxford*, or some other place which they more confide in then *London*: and this is the *settling the Kingdom without the King*, they so much ayme at: and which they had rather the people should be brought to practically and by insensible degrees, then by Declarations held forth to them before hand, or by politick Lectures in the Pulpit. Thus is it decreed that this Caball of Godly men at *Derby-house* shall with a Military Aristocracy or rather Oligarchy, rule this Nation with a rod of Iron, and break them in pieces like a Potters vessell.

Observe that the Ordinance by which the Committee of *Derby-house* is revived, and the additions of power to it, are purposely penned in such ambiguous terms, that he that hath the *Sword in his hand*, may make what construction of them he pleaseth: neither were they clearly penned, is it in the power of the Houses (being but the Trustees of the people) to transfer or delegate their trust to a lesser number of men: a trust not being transferable by law, and the people having chosen a *Parliament*, not a Committee to look to their safety: and peace.

7. The *Grandees* of the *Parliament* and *Army* have brought the Kingdom to so miserable a condition, that they have left no Authority in *England* able to settle peace: the King is a close Prisoner to the *Army*, therefore all he shall doe will be clearly void in law by reason of *Dures*: The *Parliament* is in Wardship to them, who keep armed Guards upon them, Garrisons round about

7.
The Army hind-
ders Peace and
Settlement.

bout them, and by illegall Accusations, Blancke Impeachments, threatening Remonstrances, and Declarations, &c. fright away many Members and compell the rest to Vote and un-Vote what they please, whereby all the Parliament doth is void and null in Law ab initio, it being no free Parliament but a Sub-committee to the Army, and living as the Egyptians did under vassalage to their own Mamaluchi or Mercenaries : The people therefore must resolve either to have no Army, or no Peace.

8. They have put out the eyes of the Kingdome, the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and have brought the whole Land to make sport before them, knowing that Learning and Religion, as well as Laws and Liberties, are enemies to their barbarous, irrationall, and Russian way of Government.

9. Many honest men took part with this Parliament, seduced by those fair pretences of defending Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which they first held forth to the people ; and being unwilling to have a Parliament conquered by the Sword, not thinking it possible that a prevailing Faction in Parliament should so far prevaricate as to conspire to enslave King, Parliament, and Kingdome, to subvert the Laws, Liberties and fundamentall Government of the Land, under which they and their Posterity Were, and were likely to be so happily governed, and betray Religion unto Hereticks and Schismaticks, and share the spoiles of the Common-wealth between them, and think of enriching themselves with them in foraine lands ; yet many at the beginning much disliked that Religion should be used as an ingredient to the carrying on of a Civil War, and that Schismaticks should have so great a stroak in managing the businesse : yet were pacified with this consideration, that we must refuse no helps in our defence : if a man be assauleed by Thieves on the high way, he will not refuse to joyne with Schismaticks or Turks in a common defence ; the same authority that then countenanced those Schismaticks (it was hoped) would be able to discountenance them again when the work was done. But the Grandees of the Houses (having other designes) had so often purged the Houses, that they left few honest moderate men in them to oppose their projects, still bringing in Schismaticks and men of their owne interests, by enforced & undue Elections, into their rooms ; and so by insensible degrees, new modelled the House suitable to their owne corrupt desires, and new modelled this Army accordingly : so that the

The two Universities destroyed.

Many honest men seduced by faire pretences, took part with them; never intending to leave their first principles, and enslave King, and Kingdome.

people (who had no intention to be intrusted so far) were step by step so far engaged before they were aware, that they could not draw their feet back, and do now find (to their grief) that the Bit is in their mouths, the saddle fast girt on their galled backs, and these Rank riders mounted ; who will spur them (not only out of their Estates, Lawes, and Liberties) but into Hell with renewed Treasons, new Oaths, Covenants and Engagements, if they take not the more heed, and be not the more resolute : they have changed their old honest principles, and their old friends, who bore the first brunt of the businesse ; and have taken new principles and friends in their roome, suitable to their present desperate designes, and now (that they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party) they think of sequestring their old friends, because they adhere to their old principles.

10.
Who are the
King's bitterest
enemies.

10. Amongst those that are most bitter against the King, his own Servants (especially the *judasses* of the Committee of the Revenue that carry his purse, and have fingered more of his money and goods then they can or dare give an account for) are the greatest Zealots, those that take upon them imployments about his Revenue, and share what allowances to themselves they please for their pains ; those that buy in for trifles old sleeping pensions, that have not been payed nor allowed this thirty years, and pay themselves all arrears : those that rent parcells of the Kings Revenue, for the eighth or tenth part of the worth, as *Cor. Holland*, who renteth for 200l. per annum, as much of his Estate as is worth 1600l. or 1800l. per annum : Thus you see the Lion (Lord of the Forrest) growing sick and weak, become a prey, and is goaded by the Ox, bitten by the Dog, yea and kicked by the Ass ; Look upon this president you Kings and Princes, and call to mind examples of old, that of *Nebuchadnezzar* & others, left by exalting your selves too high, you provoke God to cast you too low.

The Epi-
logue.

I Am not Ignorant that there is a naturall purging, a naturall phlebotomy, belonging to politike, as well as to naturall bodies : and that some good humours are alwaies evacuated with the bad, yet I cannot but deplore what I have observed, That the honestest and justest men of both sides (such as, if they have done evill, did it because they thought it good; such as were carried nside with specious pretences, and many of them seduced by pulpit-Devils who transformed themselves

selues into Angels of Light) have alwaies fared worse then other men, as if this difference between the King & Parliament were but a syncretismus or illusion against honest men: nay, I do farther foresee that in the period and closing up of this Tragedy, they will fare worst of all, because they have not taken a liberty to enrich themselves with publick Booties, and fat themselves by eating out the bowels of their mother, but are grown lean and poor by their integrity; whereby being disabled to buy friendship in the daies of trouble, they will be put upon it, to pay other mens reckonings: When Verres was Praetor of Sicily he had with wonderful corruptions pillaged that Province; and at the same time the Praetor of Sardinia being sentenced for depeculating and robbing that Province, Timarchides, Verres correspondent at Rome, writ a very anxious Letter to him, giving him warning of it: But Verres in a jolly humour answered him, that the Praetor of Sardinia was a foole, and had extorted no more from the Sardinians then would serve his own turn; but himself had gathered up such rich Booties amongst the Sicilians, that the very overplus thereof would dazzle the eyes of the Senate, and blind them so that they should not see his faults: such (I foresee) will be the lot of the more just and modest men, who shall be guilty because they were fools; as the other sort shall be innocent because they were knaves: whatsoever befalls (you dear and innoxious souls) be not ashamed, be not afraid of your integrity: if this Kingdom be a fit habitation for honest men, God will provide you a habitation here; if it be not capable of honesty, God will take you away from the civiles to come, and pourre out all the vials of his wrath upon this totally and universally corrupted Nation, this incurable people; *Qui nec vita sua nec eorum remedia ferre potest: for my own part,* (if I am not such already) I hope God will make me such a man, *Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;* and if Moses in a herick zeal, to draw a remissio of the peoples sin from God, desired to be blotted one of his books, (the book of life) and St. Paul to be Anathema for his brethren, why should not I (with relation to myself, & submission to Christ) say, oportet unum mori pro populo, it is fit one man die for the people, and devote my self to death for my Country, as the Family of the Deit in ancient Rome w^ere wont to do? I have read and admired their examples, why not imitate them? is it because (as Macchiavelli saith) the Christian Religion doth the mankind break, infroble, and cowardize the spirit of man, by persecuting and

The History of Independence

& subduing nature by denying her due Liberty, & tyng her to be more passive then active: At facere & pati fortia Romanum, imo Christianum est: or is it because in this generall deluge of sin and corruption, all publick spirit, and all excellency in virtue is accounted a degree of malresse? or is it because of the corrupt judgement of these times, which makes a man more infamous for his punishment, then for his sin? and therefore Heroick acts are out of fashion; the Circumstances and Ceremonies of death, are more taken notice of then Death it self: these follies weigh not with me. Sublimis an humi putrescam, patyi refect. The theif upon the Croffe found a ready way to Heaven: how much more an honest man? many a man out of prison steps into Heaven, no man out of Paradise ever found the way thither: Salebrosa sit via, modo certa, modo expedita; alte succinctus ad iter me accingo.

The premises considered, I do here in the name & behalfe of all the free Commons of England, declare and protest that there is no free nor legal Parliament sitting in England, but that the two Houses sit under a visible, actuall, and a horrid force of a mutinous Army, and of a small party of both Houles conspiring and engaged with the said Army, to destroy, expell and murder, with false Accusations, and blank and illegall Impeachments and Prosecutions, the rest of their fellow Members, who late in Parliament doing their duty, when the two Speakers with a small company of Members secretly fled away to the Army, and late in Councell with them, contriving how to enslave King, Parliament, City, and Kingdome, and how to raise Taxes at their pleasure, which they share amongst themselves and their party, under the name and title of the Godly, the Saints: And afterwards they brought the Army up to London against the Parliament and City in hostile manner; A designe far exceeding the Plot of Fermanie, Goring, &c. to bring up the Northerne Army to London to over come the Parliament: I doe farther protest, that the two Houses have sat under the laid force, ever since the 6. of Aug. last; and therefore all they have done, and all they shall doe, in the condition they now sit in, is void and *non in law ab initio*, by their owne doctrine and judgement included in their Ordinance of the 20. of Aug. last, whereby they null and void ab initio, all Votes, Orders, &c. passed from the 26. July 1647, to the 6. Aug. following,

bmo

F I N I S.